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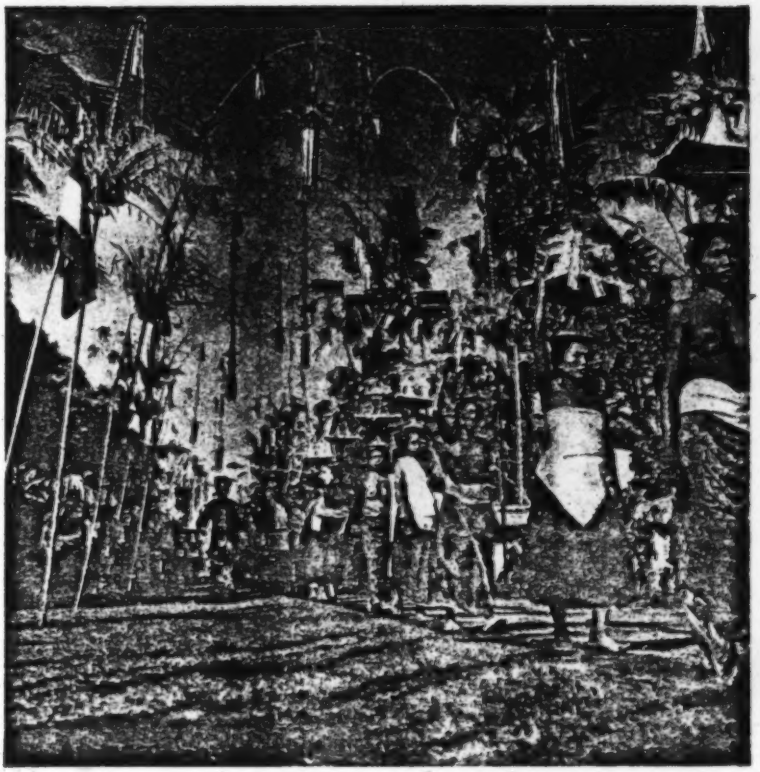

Procession, bearing offerings to the temple. The roadway is decorated with bamboo poles (*penjor*).

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XXII

JANE BELO

BALI: TEMPLE FESTIVAL

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Acknowledgments

The material for this monograph was collected in Bali—then part of Netherlands East Indies, now part of the Republic of Indonesia — between 1931 and 1939, before the Japanese occupation. This paper was originally designed as part of a much longer, still unpublished volume on Balinese trance; the pattern of trance behavior repeats in the experience of the entranced individual the pattern of the temple feast in which the gods are first invoked, then entertained, and finally persuaded to depart. Because a formal outline of the Balinese temple ceremonial should be of interest to students of many other sorts of cultural phenomena besides trance, it has seemed desirable to publish this segment now.

This monograph deals with the pattern of the *odalan*, the major calendrical feast of a Balinese temple, as it was celebrated in Sajan, a village in the central part of South Bali, District of Gianjar, in 1937–38. I have confined myself to the actual ceremonial in this temple, but my discussion is based on observations of numerous *odalans*, in different types of temples in many parts of Bali. The photographs are of other temple feasts as none were taken at this ceremony.

During the latter part of my field experience in Bali, I worked under the supervision of and in close collaboration with Dr. Margaret Mead and Mr. Gregory Bateson. For their assistance, interest, and encouragement I am deeply grateful. To work with them was a privilege, and the training I received has been invaluable to me. Margaret Mead has also given generously of her time, and the benefit of her specific knowledge of the area, in cross-checking the present manuscript and preparing it for publication.

Two Balinese are to be especially thanked for their invaluable contribution to this particular study, my secretary, Goesti Madé Soemeng, and the *pemangkoe désa* of *Bandjar Koeta*, Sajan, who served as my principal informant on the temple ritual. For the cooperation of all our Balinese friends I am also very grateful.

I want to acknowledge my debt to the late Professor Ruth Benedict, who read the original material and helped so much in relating the detail to an understanding of the total culture; Dr. Rhoda Metraux for reading and making suggestions on manuscripts in progress; Mr. Colin McPhee, for the photographs reproduced here; Dr. R. Goris, Dr. Robert Heine-Geldern, and Dr. Andrew Yarrow for their helpful interest in unraveling the bits of archaic Sanskrit, and the Department of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History, and in particular

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600 Miss Bella Weitzner, for the hospitality within which I finally organized these materials for publication.

And I want especially to thank my husband, Frank Tannenbaum, for his encouragement and interest.

New York Jane Belo

March, 1953.

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Introduction

Bali belongs to the gods. The inhabitants are no more than transitory tenants of the land, who cultivate it and are nourished from its yield during the short span of the body's residence upon the earth. People die, but the earth remains — the property of the gods.

The relationship, then, between the living inhabitants and the dead souls, the ancestral gods who are the true owners of the land, is a close one. As the years roll around members of an ancestral line will die, and be born again, so that in the unending cycle of reincarnation it is the ancestral line which continues to hold the apportioned lands, and the individual members merely return from time to time "to ask for rice." In a sense, it is only upon the indulgence of the gods that the living are allowed to be fed from their lands. Therefore the living take great care to show the proper respect for the gods, not to neglect to do them honor at every turn, and to be at pains to propitiate them when signs of their displeasure are manifested. The gods have many and unforeseen ways of showing their anger. Illness, famine, pestilence and drought are signs of the gods' wrath. Bad luck and minor annoyances and ailments indicate that they are perhaps disgruntled, perhaps craving more solicitous attention.

In the ordinary course of life, no man would be so bold as to omit the gestures of homage to which the gods are accustomed. He will not set out his seeds of rice except upon a favorable day of the religious calendar. He will give a small offering, of rice and fruits and flowers and betel, that the plantings may prosper. At the transplanting of the shoots to the inundated fields, and at the opening and closing of the irrigation dikes, during the period of ripening, proper and fitting rites must be carried out. At the harvest, the first few heads of rice which are cut are gathered into a figure, called a *nini* (mother), which is safely put away in the rice granary as a tribute to, and in some sense a representation of, Déwi Sri[1].

In every household at intervals of fifteen days small offerings must be made in the house-temple, on every pavilion within the court, and immediately without the entrance gate. When a feast is held, these offerings are augmented, and especially for the ancestors who are recently

[1] See Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 63, for photographs of these figures in the plains and in a mountain village. The authors say, "In Balinese ceremonials most of the important offerings, including the sprinkler (*lis*) which is used for scattering holy water, are representations of gods, spirits, souls, or bodies of the dead." They found the *nini* in the various areas they studied, and the alternative title Betara Sri in use, as well as Déwi Sri.

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dead and not yet cremated, who exist therefore in a sort of limbo between earth and heaven, a share of the viands is set aside that they may not return to molest their living relatives.

At intervals of 210 days every individual, every household, every temple site, celebrates an "anniversary." The year has actually twice this length, or 420 days, but because events are reckoned not by date, but by a conjunction of a position in a five-day week and a seven-day week, together with a specific month, in Bali birthdays and other anniversaries happily come around twice a year. From year to year the seasons do not correspond to any given month, but this is of no importance. People's ages are not reckoned. The parents of a three year old child cannot tell you within a year or two how old it is. But everyone knows on what day of the calendar his birthday falls, and on what day the anniversary of his household temple, and of every temple of the village to which he belongs.

All of these are occasions for a festival. In the cycle of six months of 35 days (which must pass to bring around again the calendrical conjunction) a household may celebrate half a dozen birthdays, a festival in the house-temple, and three, four, or five large temple feasts in which their fellow members of the village participate. Weddings, tooth-filings, and cremations are extra occasions for festivities. And once in 210 days the whole population joins in the holiday season called "*galoengan*," when for ten days the gods are invited to come down to earth, the villages are decorated, plays, processions, and musical entertainments are given in their honor, the whole island dresses up and goes visiting, and nobody does any more "*work*" than is strictly necessary. I italicize *work* here, to carry the meaning of work for a livelihood, for all the activities connected with temple ritual are also called "work," *karja*, in the high language.

The temples of Bali are holy sites on which stand the houses of the gods. But these houses are uninhabited the greater part of the time. The Balinese believe that the abode of the gods is upon the mountain, and that only at special times and by special invitation will they come down to stay for a few days in these, their earthly residences. It is customary for the gods of each temple to come down for their visit on each of the bi-yearly anniversaries, but as a rule a more elaborate feast is given for them on one of these bi-yearly occasions than on the other. The bigger feast is called *odalan*, the smaller *sepian*, or *sepèn*; and in some areas both are called *odalan*, the larger distinguished by the term *odalan pedoedoesan*. Once a year comes the island-wide observance of the Day of Silence, *njepi*,[2] when the villagers stay in their houses, the fires are put

[2] See Mead's description of *njepi* in Bateson and Mead, 1942, pp. 1—3. Note also that where the word *sepian* or *sepèn* occurs for the smaller festival, these terms also indicate a silence and an emptiness, from the root *sepi-*, which becomes *njepi* for the active form.

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out and the roads empty of people, when behind their barred gates the people go through a day of quietness intended to convey to whatever malevolent forces may lurk without that the village is deserted and that no one is at home.

If a death or other unfortunate event has rendered the village unclean when the appointed day of a festival falls due, the festival is passed over, and the gods are not invited to come down until the appointed day comes around again 210 days later. However, at any time when the village or the individual is not in a state of uncleanness, it is possible to enter the temple to address special prayers and to offer special offerings. Although the temple priest, the *pemangkoe*, may be asked to dedicate such offerings, his services are not absolutely necessary, and the prayers and offerings may be given directly to the gods by the individual. The gods are considered in some sense present in their temples, or at least not too far away for communication to be established with them, although they are not at the moment actually inhabiting their shrines.

The *odalan* or temple festival is an occasion on which the people of the village, having invited the gods to this temporary residence for a visit of three days' duration, prepare the house for them and offer them a religious service which symbolizes both refreshment and entertainment. To the villagers themselves it is a true festival, a celebration, a religious holiday. For three days before the event the men and women of each household, divided into groups, make preparations. If, for example, the women are called to the temple during the morning hours to sit weaving from fresh palm-leaf the thousands of offering containers in different shapes and sizes, the men are allowed to remain at home. Then the wooden slit-gong sounds, and from every side the men assemble, to put up temporary frames and altars to receive the offerings, to erect the decorative poles (*penjors*) of bamboo decked with palm-leaf, and to carry out, according to their skill, any repairs to the roofs of the pavilions or to the walls of the courts, of which the temple may have stood in need for many months. While the men work, the women are free to return to their households.

Each family, or better, household-unit, has allotted to it an equal share in the contributions necessary for the offerings: thus, two cocoanuts, a measure and a half of rice, three eggs, and about 15 cents in cash[3] may be the contribution levied on each of 500 households. If a

[3] These data were collected during the 1930s, when, under the Dutch Administration, the currency in use was the *ringgit*, a silver coin of about the size and value of an American silver dollar, and worth two and one-half *roepiah*, equivalent to a Dutch florin. The *roepiah* again was subdivided into 25 cent and 10 cent pieces, called *s'talen* (or *s'tali*) and *a-ketip* respectively. Chinese cash were current at about 170 to 185 to the "string," exchanged for the Dutch 25 cent piece. *Tali*

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man happens to have on his land a surplus of bamboo, and to be short of coconuts or rice, he can arrange with the keeper of the accounts to substitute this commodity to the value of his contribution. A record is kept, scratched upon a leaf of *tal* palm, of all contributions and defaults, both in work and in kind, and cumulative fines are imposed upon all who do not do their share. The temple as a rule possesses some funds, chiefly profits from the temple lands (*labaan*) which are under the custody of the priest guardian, or *pemangkoe*. He makes a living from them, but all members of the temple have an equal share in the produce over and above his portion. If the produce has been divided and distributed among them earlier in the season, they are required to make up in money or in kind the value of their shares, as the needs of the temple festival have first claim upon these riches.

The temple priests who are the guardians of these temples have not studied as have the Brahmana high priests, the *pedanda*, who are often scholars and learned men. The temple priest may be drawn from any caste, Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesya, or Soedra (Sudra), depending upon the population and caste distribution in the various villages. They are for the most part Soedra, and their office is not a particularly high one, not, for example, of anything like the importance of that of the *klian dèsa*, head, or literally, elder, of the village. They possess written instructions for the giving of offerings, the prayers, and the course the festival is to follow. These contain long minutely specified listings of the offerings for the festival and of the prayers, in the "old language," known as *kawi*, in the current High Balinese, and some few fragments of corrupt but still recognizable verses in Sanskrit. Many of these appear to be taken from the Vedas, and the term used in Bali for the high priest's praying is the verbal noun formed from the root *veda*, *mewéda*. To these untutored temple priests the meaning of the Sanskrit fragments is frequently lost, and they content themselves with the repetition of them and the copying out of the texts every generation or so when the palm-leaf books begin to wear out. For this reason the errors which have crept into the versions preserved by the temple priests are very numerous, words and sometimes whole lines are lost, and phonetic changes occur which do not follow any rule, but are merely accidental and influenced to some extent by the pronunciation of similar words (often with quite different meanings) in current Balinese. It is a matter of some amazement to contemporary Sanskrit scholars that they are able today to identify any of the sacred texts which have been so care-

means string, in Sanskrit as well, and from this term the word *s'tali*, meaning one string, is derived. In the prescriptions for offerings written on *lontar* (*tal*) palm the amount of money was always given in Chinese cash, as 33, 66, etc., but during the years of our study the Dutch silver coins could be substituted.

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fully preserved and reverently handed down by the people for perhaps five hundred to a thousand years.

The palm-leaf instruction books are referred to chiefly while a young priest is studying for office. As a rule by the time he is ready to officiate the order of the ritual and the prayers have become so familiar to him that he needs no book of instructions. Similarly, the array of offerings is taken care of by the women, special offering experts, who seem to be able to carry in their heads the thousands upon thousands of minutiae without which the offerings would not be complete, and in their finger tips, the necessary twist of the knife to cut out this or that intricate design in the folded leaves of young palm which will form the decorative fringes, panels, streamers, and top-pieces.

As the day of the festival approaches, more and more time is required of the villagers. At the last moment, a few thousands of small cakes are to be baked. Elaborate compositions of flowers and fruits and cakes have to be built up on a banana-stalk base, each unit impaled on a bamboo skewer to hold it in its place in the formal design of the offering. The meat offerings are the last to be got ready, lest they spoil in the heat, and these are the especial care of the men. A pig is killed, sometimes a calf, and ducks and chickens by the dozen. Intestines are pulled out and washed and refilled to make sausages. Fowls are roasted over spits. A great chopping and hashing goes on feverishly for many hours, as the men mix up concoctions of vegetable, meat, and blood to form around the little skewers for roasting and to serve up in mounds to accompany the rice. A special attention is to cut up the fat of the pig into flowers, impale these and fix them in a central support, to form a bouquet of pig-fat, one of the most imposing of the ornamental offerings.[4] But in the course of all these preparations, though the tongue be hanging out for a taste of the unwonted delicacies, no one forgets that this is a feast for the gods, and that the villagers will only get their share after the gods have been served. They will receive, as it were, the leavings from the gods' table, which they call *loengsoeran*, literally, "what is asked back."

For the occasion of the festival the local players of the *gamelan* orchestra, the actors and dancers of the village often prepare a new performance. Many hours of rehearsal may go into working up a new composition, based on the old melodies and rhythms, but recreated for the festival performance. If the village boasts trained dancers, these also go through a rigorous training period before making their "opening" at the temple festival. In many cases, especially if the village has funds, neighboring troupes of dancers and actors are invited to give a performance for a small fee and a part of the feast, or again a play may be arranged with the local talent augmented by one or two famous players, a clown or a player of a princely role, who comes from a distant village and adds to

[4] See Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 115, Plate 30, Nos. 3, 4.

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536 the performance the glamor of his special gifts. The shadow-play is also often given as a part of the festivities, and a famous *dalang* who can hold his audience all through the night is much sought after, and considered to add both amusement and religious dignity to the proceedings. He should be a man who can recite from the ancient literature, episodes from the Hindu *Ramayana* or *Maha-bharata*, or the Javanese poem, *Ardjoena Wiwaha* and who at the same time can intersperse salty comment [522] on local events (in the mouths of the humorous characters Delem, Sangoet, the Tjondong, and so on) making the course of the old language narrative more intelligible to the popular audience. These various forms of entertainment offered to the gods make up an important part of the festival, and all are prepared with a great amount of enthusiastic creative activity and put on for a merely nominal remuneration.

796 All these types of activity, the making of the offerings, the setting up of the decorations, and the preparation of the music, dance, and dramatic offerings, make clear what the people mean when they leave off their everyday tasks and flock to the temple saying "*Wenten karja di poera*" (There is work in the temple). Their contributions in money and in kind [189] are small in relation to the expenditure of effort which they gladly make on these occasions. If the pattern of the many times repeated sets of offerings has something of the compulsive about it, this aspect of the services is to a great extent overlaid and offset by the gaiety of their participation, as players and as audience, in the three day celebration. And although it is considered fitting and proper to have at the festival as many and as brilliant performances as can be mustered, there is nothing in the religious prescriptions to make this part of the festival compulsory, and the effort which is expended by the people is in this regard quite voluntary.

798 In many temples the gods are represented by little figurines of gold, 796 or bronze, or gilded wood,[5] by plain boards on which a face has been carved in primitive style, or by a simple figure woven of palm. Often [532] there are little extra faces of wood, painted as are the masks, which are attached to the figure representing the god for the time that the god is supposed to be present. The figures themselves have no power. They are merely the receptacles, the "sitting-places" (*pelinggihan*) of the higher presence. On days other than those of the festival, the figures are put away in the little houses which belong to the gods, the tiny doors closed upon them. No one gives them a thought until the festival day comes around.

796 The temple festival is first a communal feast. As a calendric event, it repeats the pattern found in the very old style villages, the old Indo-

[5] Such a sacred figurine may be called an *artja*. Likewise some other object, [778] non-representative in aspect, a stone or bit of bronze, may be kept in the temple shrine, and to such objects also the name *artja* is given.

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nesian pattern, in which the seating of the members on the *bale agoeng* (the great meeting pavilion) is the central ceremonial event. It is important in bringing together the members at a specified time, providing them with a common purpose in the service of the gods. In this it serves to weld the village into a unit. The food which is prepared, richer in content and more elaborate in its dressing than the everyday diet, is ceremonially offered to the gods, but actually eaten by the villagers. The entertainment and the contests, likewise offered to the gods, make of it a true festival for the people's enjoyment.

The main theme of the festival is the coming of the gods to the temple, a descent from on high (*ring loewoer*) with an appropriate ritual of reception, and with a reversal of this ritual when they are again sent home. The temple, though it is the house of the gods, is considered empty of the godly presence except when this is especially invoked. Although it is possible at other times to make an offering and offer a prayer to the gods in the temple, such an offering in itself would constitute an invocation of the presence, a calling down of the gods. For the regular calendric festival the presence is invited for three days, to do the gods honor, and to assure the village against their displeasure. The temple must be supported by the yearly festival, the *odalan*, and the smaller half-yearly feast, the *sepian*, and in this the members carry the obligation in perpetuity. After their death, it is to be carried on by their descendants. In the very rare case that a temple is abandoned and falls into disuse, the site is considered dangerous, and it is believed that evil forces are almost certain to lurk there. But if the gods are properly honored and fittingly celebrated at their yearly festival, their good will towards the village and their protection is to be counted on. As the priest says, the intent of his most frequently repeated formula is "May the gods be pleased."

Of primary importance in the ritual is the making and asking of holy water. Every ritual sequence begins with this, and the aspersion of the site, the offerings, and the devotees, in oft repeated forms make up a significant part of the ceremonial. With the rites of aspersion go the ritual use of the priest's bell, and of the incense brazier. The dedication of the offerings of food and betel, with the pouring of libations, constitute the main body of the ceremonial passages. Besides these, there are the special rites of purification, including appeasement of the demons. In this manner, while the forces of good are invoked with ceremonial appropriate to the gods, the forces of evil are at the same time held in check by offering to the demons edibles to their taste.

The prayers are a litany of invocation, interspersed with words of praise and *apologia* for the fitness of the service. The most frequently repeated formulae are those conveying "Honor and Hail!" and the plea for the prosperity and happiness of the worshippers, equivalent, in the priest's interpretation, to "May the gods be pleased." These prayer

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formulae are recurrent in the ritual, as if they could not be too often repeated. Next to these in frequency are the *apologia*, in which the priest begs the gods' pardon for any lack in prayers and ceremonial. They have been handed down intact in the ancient Sanskrit verses, and if the priest does not know the meaning of the words themselves, he knows that their meaning is to express humility. With them go the prayers for the forgiveness of sins, for mercy and protection, which have also come down from the past in a form very close to the Sanskrit *sloka*.

By far the greater part of the prayers is bound up with the ritual, and intoned by the priest. The members are not expected to pray. They confine their devotions to the gesture of reverence and the receiving of holy water. There is room for individual prayers only with the dedication of thank-offerings, given in return for favors received. For the populace worship consists of deeds rather than words. It is the work which they do in preparation for the festival, and during its course, which constitutes their chief participation. All together they derive their true religious experience from the presence of the gods in the temple for the three days of their visit. The priest serves as their spokesman. No more direct communication between worshippers and deity is considered necessary.

When during the course of a festival, or at some private rite, any of the gods' subjects go into trance, the occurrence is interpreted as a religious experience, a setting up of direct communication between the gods and the living. The entranced speaks as a god with whose presence he is imbued. The god may give answers then to the questions put to him. And, for the time that the holy presence is manifest, all honor and respect are accorded the deity in the person of the entranced. This phenomenon is seen as a complete parallel to the descent of the gods into the little figures of the temple. And when the time has come for the holy presence to withdraw, just as at the festival, with incense and holy water the gods are politely asked to depart.

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CHAPTER ONE

Order and Variation in Ritual

It is possible for the student of Balinese ritual to discern, after many years of attendance at these recurring festivals in different villages, a sort of skeleton form common to all of them, a pattern whose broad lines are the same regardless of local variations. Each temple has its own fixed program of ceremonial in which the sequence of events is not varied from year to year. Two temples in a single village may follow a different order of events, a purification ceremony which, by customary usage takes place in the one on the first day of the festival, occurs in the other on a later day. Each sticks to its own usage, and if the priest of the second temple were for some reason unable to officiate, and the priest from the first temple were asked to substitute for him, the order of ritual customary in the temple would be followed, not that of the visiting priest. Neither of these priests would be able to give an outline of the skeleton form which is common to the two temples. They would be able to point out differences, and, with considerable difficulty and many lapses of memory, could relate the order of events which they have learned to follow. Our method was to make notes of the procedure followed and the words spoken, and then afterwards to ask the priest for his explanation of the ritual passages and phrases. Often a passage which was obscure in meaning would become clearer by comparison with the corresponding rite in other localities. For example, when the gods go "to the bath" (*ke bédji*), a sprinkling of a few drops of water in their direction may be all that is done, whereas in another village the god-figures may receive a thorough shower-bath, water poured over them, and a careful anointing afterward with the contents of the "toilet tray" (*pebersihan*). This toilet-tray will be found to be present among the offerings even for the most sketchy of bath rituals. Not infrequently the contents of the offerings for a specific rite would serve to identify it in another locality, where it went by a different name.

The prayer formulae or *mantras* repeated by the priests in the course of the ritual may be of some assistance in throwing light on the significance of a ceremonial passage, but as often as not one would find that the priest either misunderstood the formula he repeated, or disclaimed any knowledge of its meaning, saying "I would not dare to understand that." The *mantras* are in the so-called old language, Old Javanese and Old Balinese, and some Sanskrit verses are preserved in a form not too utterly corrupted to be beyond recognition by Sanskrit scholars.

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It must be remembered that we are referring here to the village temple priests (*pemangkoe*) who are simple officiants and guardians of the temples, and should not be confused with the Brahmin high priests (*pedanda*) to whose province belongs the study and understanding of the classical texts. If these village priests know the *mantras* they have learned them by rote, perhaps reading them off the palm-leaf manuscript (*rontal, lontar*) which was copied out by their predecessor, who was also no scholar, who would not have recognized an error if he saw one, and who no doubt added a few errors of his own in the transcription. When one considers the manner in which these prayer formulae have been handed down among the people for 600 years, no one "daring to understand them" sufficiently to question the obscure meaning, each one accepting the errors of former scribes as a part of the original holy text, faithfully copying them off a molding and disintegrating leaf of palm, in reverence and anxiety lest the holy words be lost — the wonder is not at the corruption of the texts, but at their survival in anything like a recognizable form. For the Sanskrit texts we have given below, that correspond to the prayer formulae recited by the village priest, we are indebted to Dr. R. Goris, the Dutch archeologist for many years stationed in Bali. Dr. Goris published these texts in his *Bijdrage Tot de Kennis der Oud Javaansche en Balinèesche Theologie*, in Leiden, 1926. At the time our study was made he kindly identified for us the versions we had got from the village priest, and gave us the free translations in English. Changing the writing from Balinese script into Roman characters, using the Dutch phonetic spelling, perhaps is unfair in making the village priest's version seem more distant than it would in the syllabic writing.

It would appear to the student of Balinese ritual that the occurrence of trance in the ceremonial is one of those features which vary from village to village. In some villages we have seen, year after year, the trances break out at a given moment in the ceremonial, to the point that we felt able to predict at what stage of the proceedings trance would occur in that particular temple. But in another temple, the same ceremonial might be repeated, year after year, and no one go in trance. In another, trance would break out, almost as at a given cue, at quite another point in the ritual sequence. It is impossible to connect the various forms of trance seizure with any specific rite, to look upon it as an inevitable accompaniment to this rite in different localities. It is possible to state that trance activity is cued in some specific localities to specific rites. In many villages it is not customary to go in trance at all. Conceivably a spontaneous trance outburst could always occur, and might be followed in later years by repetitions of the phenomenon at the same point. We cannot be sure that the trance activities did not once exist in these villages, and have not fallen into desuetude. Neither can we be

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sure that any given ceremonial once included trance as a necessary part of it, and has continued to be carried out, no longer as a preliminary to trance, but representing in itself the same purpose.

Every connection between trance and ceremonial is possible to conceive, but cannot be proven. Some Balinese observers who came from villages where the practice of ceremonial trance was not customary would say when they saw the trances break out in other temples, "The people do it to make the ceremony complete." They were apt to be skeptical of the validity of the trances, but they recognized that in such a locality, where trance was customary, it could be considered as a necessary part of the ritual. In villages where the trance activities were so constant that they were predictable, the people themselves would not claim that they were inevitable. Whenever we asked "Will there be trance?" the answer was "It's not sure. If the gods come down...", or "If the god is pleased with anyone, he will be entered." Where trance was customary, the people considered the occurrence of trance as fortuitous, a sign of the attention of the gods, and a matter beyond their control.

Since this anomalous state of affairs exists, it is not possible to regard the occurrence of trance in ceremonial as one of the "bones" of the skeleton form. It is not structurally necessary. The fact is that the entering of human beings by the gods is a parallel to the entering of the god figures which the festival celebrates. The descent of the gods into the temple on its anniversary is the important feature of the festival. The record of a complete temple festival without trance will serve to elucidate the Balinese attitude towards these presences. The phenomenon of trance thereafter may be better understood as merely one more manifestation of the holy presences.

The basic theme of every temple festival is the invitation to the gods to descend, to imbue with their presences the sacred objects (*artja*) or god-figures which form their "support" (*tapakan*) for the time that they are to be given homage. The little figures which represent the gods must be "awakened" (*tetangi*), they must be dressed, escorted to the bath, given an elaborate toilette, including attention to the hair and nails. They are given a "reception" (*pemendak*) with dancing. Nymphs are invited for their entertainment, and the gods of the neighboring temples asked to attend as guests, much as the neighboring gentry would be invited to a banquet in honor of distinguished visitors. The gods are "seated" (*melinggih*) on a central shrine, and a feast (*piodalan*) is spread for them. Later, more refreshments are offered, again with dancing (*méndèt*). Music accompanies their coming and their going. All through the night the entertainment continues. The next day, and the next, while their visit lasts, they must be offered refreshments at regular intervals, until at last, when it is time for them to "go home" (*boedal*),

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they are given a final rousing send-off (*ngeloearang*), and the villagers, their subjects, shout after them as they depart.

It will be seen how many of these patterns, institutionalized as homage to the godly presences, are carried over in the treatment of the entranced. The invitation to the gods to descend, by the same means as that by which they enter the god-figures, the "ladder" of smoke from the incense brazier, the dressing, the symbolic toilette, the offering of an honored place to be seated, the giving of food and betel and libations of wine, and finally the send-off, all may appear in the ceremonial offered to the entranced. It must be understood that these attentions are given to the people in whom the gods have manifested their presence by the state of trance, in the same spirit as they are given to the little god-figures at the temple festival.

The temple festival of which we will give the record took place in the temple, *Poera Nagasari*, in the village of Sajan, April 21 to 25, 1937. Sajan is the village in which I lived from 1932 till 1939, as a member of the ward *Bandjar Koetoeh*, to whose 105 households the temple belongs. The record is from my notes and from those of Goesti Madé, my Balinese secretary, who with me attended throughout the proceedings, even sleeping in the temple when there was a few hours' pause in the ceremonial. The officiating priest, *pemangkoe désa* of *Bandjar Koetoeh*, Sajan, was a good friend. He explained the various rites so far as possible as they went along, and, afterwards, gave many hours to discussing the points which remained unclear.

The 105 households of the ward *Bandjar Koetoeh* are said to *njoengsoeng* (to support, literally, to carry on the head) the temple, *Poera Nagasari*. The festival in this temple occurs once a year on the day called *boeda manis djoeloengwangi*. When, in six months, that day comes around again, a smaller festival called *sepèn* (*sepian*) is held. For the big festival, the *odalan*, the people say, "The gods stand for three days" (*Ida Betara meketeloen ngadeg*), but in reality the celebration formally begun on the evening of *boeda manis*, a Wednesday, lasts until after dawn of the following Sunday morning.

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CHAPTER TWO

Days of Preparation Before the Odalan

First day

The work of preparation began on the Sunday morning preceding the festival, so that a full week of the people's time was chiefly devoted to it. In charge of the ordering of the work was an official of the ward, the *petadjoeh*, chosen by the community. Serving as his assistants were four young men, *sinoman*, who act as messengers and special lieutenants of the work in hand. *Sinoman* hold office for a month only. They are appointed from each of the households of the ward in turn, and are changed at each monthly meeting of the ward's male householders. Each household is in theory composed of a male and a female adult, who are *pengajah* — that is, who owe their share of work to the community. A man whose younger brother lives in his house-court may send him to take his place at the work, or a woman be substituted for by her grown-up daughter. All that the community asks is the cooperation of one male and one female adult, and the two of them are rarely called upon to attend at the same time. It is said that one or the other should be at home, otherwise "the house would be empty."

The temple owns lands (*labaan*), rice-fields and grass-fields. The cultivation of these lands falls to the *pemangkoe*, priest of the temple. But all the members of the temple share in the crop. The priest takes half and the remainder is divided equally among the members. From his share the priest is required to provide the offerings given in the temple every *kadjeng klion* (a calendrical point occurring once in 15 days), at *poernama* (full moon) and at *tilem* (dark moon), and for the small festival (*sepèn*). From their share the members provide for the big festival (*odalan*), and the priest at this time contributes only the same amount as an ordinary member. The land-holdings of this particular temple are not sufficient to provide all that is required for the big festival; therefore, the members are taxed equally to make up the deficiency.

The *petadjoeh*, in charge of the accounts, takes stock of the temple riches, and makes out a scheme of contribution fairly divided. The *sinoman* are sent out to visit each household, to inform the people that they must come to the temple to work on the third day before the *odalan*. They are told to bring with them their contributions, thus, for each household:

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baas aboengboeng	uncooked rice, a bamboo measure (about 3 lbs.)
lengis atengah poetjoeng	coconut oil, ½ bottle (1 pint)
njoeh 3	3 coconuts
taloeh 3	3 eggs
djedjaitan	palm-leaf containers and decorations
boesoeng apapah	1 frond of young coconut leaves
bioe 15	15 bananas
siap aoekoed kemboel teloe	1 chicken between 3 households
pipis 100	100 Chinese cash (about 15 cents Dutch)

Individual adjustments may be made with the *petadjoeh*, if a member has an excess of one commodity and is short of another. But as a rule the members bring the specified allotment, called *pesoe-pesoean* (what is given out). Every member is a farmer, and can provide all of the requirements from his own rice-fields, garden, and barnyard —with the exception of the money. If the temple has funds in hand, it may not be necessary to ask for any contribution of money. The money is chiefly used for the purchase of a pig, an essential constituent of the *odalan* offerings and the feast. Many of the offerings must also contain a "filling" of a few cash when they are presented. Three to eleven cash are usually all that an offering must contain. These pennies the priest keeps. He estimates that he receives from all the offerings of the *odalan* about 1,000 cash, less than one and a half guilders. Small amounts also go to the players of the orchestra (*gamelan*) in the *sesantoen* offering presented to them. The players are given a feast at the expense of the members of the temple, as their true compensation, and the *sesantoen* offering is given only as a token of a fee. If it contains 135 cash (twenty cents Dutch) that is considered sufficient. The priest likewise receives a fee of *peras adjengan sesantoen* offerings, containing 135 cash.

On the first day of preparation, the third before the festival, the wooden slit-gong is sounded at about eight o'clock in the morning, calling the workers to the temple. On this morning it was understood that women were chiefly needed, and therefore from most of the houses a woman or a girl was sent. At the temple the *petadjoeh* was on duty, beginning to check off the *pesoe-pesoean* (contributions) as they were brought in. He was studying a sheaf of *lontar*-palm leaves (*pipil*) which he had divided into 105 squares, one for each household. Fines were [689] imposed for contributions brought late, and a careful record was kept of any omissions or substitutions.

Of the four men whose turn it was to serve as *sinoman*, two were present, and the other two had sent their women. One of these men had been detailed to fetch water for the temple, the other to chop wood to [259] start the fire in the temple kitchen. The two women were busy in the 000 kitchen preparing the rice-flour to be made into cakes. Groups of women

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 16 -- ANALYST]

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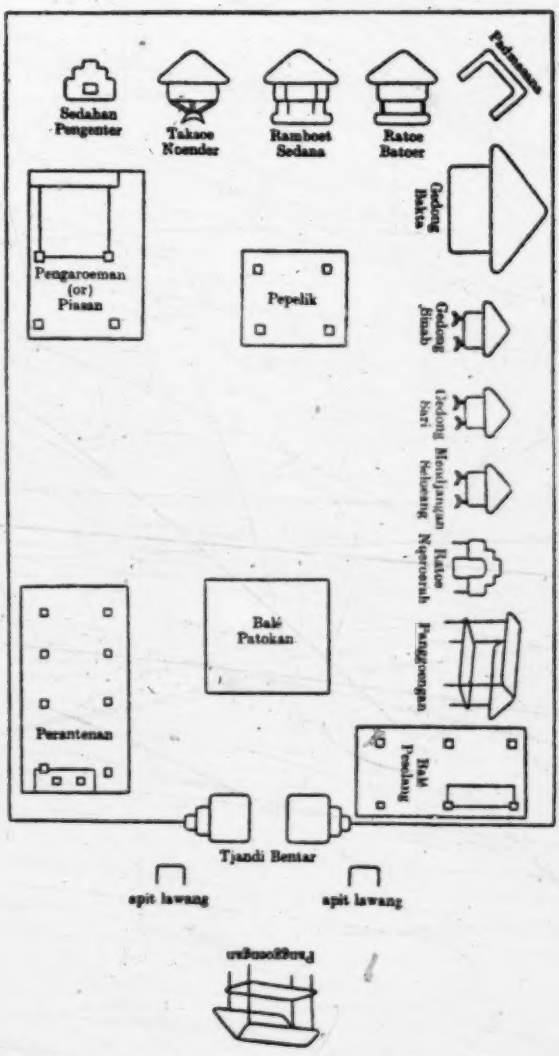

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Women present offerings before the shrines

[opp. p. 16]

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Groups of women

began to gather under the roofs of the other pavilions, to fashion from the sheaves of young palm leaves the many and varied containers that would be needed for the offerings. Hundreds of these are required, big ones, small ones, round, square, and triangular ones, each to be cut out, twisted into shape, and pinned together with bamboo slivers. The more dexterous of the women assumed the task of fashioning the decorative top-pieces (*sampian*) with many curls and whorls and flutings, and graceful fringes hanging all around, which would adorn the offerings.

When the rice-flour was ready, colored in vivid red and green, the specialists in *peregèmbal* cakes set to work molding it into distinctive shapes: the *paksi*, a bird with knobby buttons down the front of his jacket, the *doekoeh ngaba siboeh*, a "hermit holding a coconut full of water," the magical *waringin* tree. Other women were frying flat round cakes, and setting them to sun in the middle of the court. A special set of offerings was prepared at once to be presented in each of the ten shrines in the temple court and in the kitchen, "because the offerings were being made in the temple."

This giving of offerings for making offerings may be interpreted either as a polite gesture towards the gods, a gracious way of letting them know that the temple, their house, was being used for this purpose — or as a precautionary measure, to appease their appetites so that nothing should go amiss while the big offerings were being prepared. In each shrine was set an *adjoeman* (food) and a *tjanang*[1] (betel-chewing ingredients).

Meanwhile, the men who had come to work instead of their wives sat together splitting up bamboo to be used for offering frames, for skewers, needles for the pinning of the delicate palm-leaf fancy-work, or supports for the construction of special altars and stands on which the offerings would be set out.

Towards noon the hundred or so people departed, leaving the *sinoman* in charge. Again about three the *koel-koel* beat, recalling them to the temple. And the work went on, till the evening. That night a detachment of ten men was detailed to sleep in the temple, to guard it (*mekemit*).

[1] The *tjanang* is the slightest and the most frequently used offering, serving a multitude of purposes. It is a little tray made of palm-leaf, containing a flower, ingredients for betel-chewing in minuscule quantity, and a twist of palm-leaf called an "oil receptacle" (*wadah lengis*), a mere token of perfumed oil. Besides these it may contain tiny amounts or tokens of perfumed ointment and sandalwood water. Three specific types of *tjanang* may be called for:

1. *Tjanang genten*, contains *poroean* (roll of betel), *boenga* (flower), *wadah lengis* (oil receptacle).
2. *Tjanang lenga wangi*, or *tjanang boerat wangi*, contains *poroean*, *boenga*, *wadah lengis*, as above, *boeah mijik* (perfumed ointment), *lengis kodjo* (other perfumed oil), *jèh tjenana* (sandalwood water).
3. *Tjanang ganial*, contains *lekeoen* (roll of areca nut, betel-leaf, lime, and tobacco), *boeah 5* (areca nuts, 5), *wadah lengis*.

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PLATE II

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[516]

(a) Women make offerings of flowers and palm-leaf

[252]

(b) Men prepare the meat offerings; a pig for roasting

[532]

(c) Offerings of cakes in an endless variety of designs

[opp. p. 17]

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Second day

The following day, the preparations had progressed so far that the women could begin to put together (*nanding*) the prescribed items belonging in each separate offering — subject always to a last minute addition of the most perishable bits. The number of different kinds of offering is staggering. The number required of each variety, and the list of items necessary to the composition of any one leaves us aghast. Europeans quail at the very thought of such a catalogue of minutiae. When we would set our Balinese secretaries to write down the necessary offerings, they would fill pages and pages with the record. Yet the women who prepare the offerings carry all this in their heads — and upon their heads it is, if anything is lacking!

A partial list of offerings required for this festival ran as follows:

sesantoen	40	*sesajoet pegojan*	2
tjanang genten	100	*sesajoet agoeng*	2
soetji	40	*pengoelapan pengambéan*	11
daksina	40	*goeling bebangkit*	2
peras adjengan	40	*peregèmbal*	3
sesorohan	40	*peregèmbal teg-teg*	3
djapit	4	*banten ngioe*	2
pengangkat	4	*banten pané*	2
penjemek	4		

The contents of a single offering may be as complex as this:

banten pané

pané	a clay pot	*pipis*, 5	5 cash
don andong	red croton leaves	*séla*	yam
don bioe	banana leaves	*djagoeng*	maize
tangkih	cloves	*soetji*	an offering
taloeh bébék, 1	duck egg	*djadja ratoes*	cakes
njoeh, 1	coconut	*pesel-peselan*	packets (of young palm-leaf)
pangi	a fruit		
tingkih, 1	candle-nut	*katjang-katjang*	peanuts
manas, 1	pineapple	*goela batoe*	rock sugar
basa-basa	spices	*semangka*	a fruit, sursak-melon
temoe-temoe	a root		
timboel	breadfruit	*timoen*	cucumber
nangka	jackfruit	*paja*	a vegetable, squash
poesoeh gedang	young papaya	*beligo*	a melon
baas	uncooked rice	*waloeh*	a pumpkin

The fruits and vegetables required here are not provided for in the levying of contributions from the temple members, as they may be

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"begged" of anyone who has them growing in his garden. Many offerings contain a "filling" of fruits, cakes, etc., called by the term *raka*, which denotes that they are not indispensable, but may be added at will, according to what is on hand, to fill out the offering. In the *banten pané* referred to above, however, all the fruits and vegetables were requisites (*perloe*).

It can be imagined what a scurrying it takes at the last moment to make sure that no item is missing from any one of the thousands of offerings.

The men had by this time got up the *Panggoengan*, a high temporary shrine set up outside and immediately opposite the temple gate, destined for the "followers of the God of the Goenoeng Agoeng." This shrine, before the *odalan* began, would be flanked by tall *penjors*, decorated bamboos rising to the sky, and bent over at the tip by the weight of a lovely palm-leaf confection — said to attract the attention of the gods' hungry followers to the meat offerings especially set there for them, so that they will not invade the temple and despoil the offerings intended for the gods. From this shrine also will hang the intricate palm-leaf panels (*lamak*) cut out by the girls with the cleverest fingers. Those who undertake to provide for the temple the *penjors* and the *lamaks* are let off from part of the usual routine work.

Third day

On the third day of the preparations — that is, the day immediately preceding the *odalan*, there was much rice to be cooked in the kitchen. When ready, it had to be formed in various shapes, rounded cones, cylinders, rolls and packets. Some of the *bandjar* members had not yet brought their allotted portions. Rice was still coming in, a woman was busy measuring it. The *petadjoeh* checked off on his *pipil* the names of those who would be fined for coming late. On this day all the workers, male and female, were required to be present. The temple was crowded with more than two hundred members. There were still many offerings to be completed, and the time had come for the decorations to go up.

Around under the eaves of all the little shrines and buildings hung fringes of brightly colored cloth, sewn in a complex patch-work design. Gay curtains of calico were arranged about the "beds" or raised platforms of the *Pengaroeman* and *Pepelik*, where the gods would later be placed, and the offerings arrayed. (In the old days these valances and curtains were the lovely Balinese paintings, but most of these have been sold and are now replaced by calico.) From the corners of every shrine dangled festoons of palm-leaf confections, *gantoeng-gantoengan*, their crisp fringes stirring in the breeze. From the door or opening of every shrine hung *tjenigaan* of patterned palm-leaf, smaller editions of the

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great *lamaks* hung without. It is also customary to hang green leaves (*don gegirang*) from the doors. The ceremonial parasols decorated with gold-leaf were stuck into the ground before the *Pepelik* and the *Padmasana*, shrine to the Sun. Beside them stood the tall spears, their shafts ringed with bands of silver. All the available raised platforms were crowded with the finished or nearly finished offerings, and within the temple court it looked indeed as if the party were about to begin.

But there was still much work to do. The men were busy cutting the hundreds of bamboo skewers needed for grilling parts of the pig to be killed next morning. The women's flying fingers were finishing off the last dozens of leaf-containers. A group of five unmarried girls had gathered around to make the fragile *tjanang rébong*, left till the last. They took up flowers and neatly impaled each on a bamboo stick. Then, working from a base of a clay pedestal (*sesendèn*) on which stood a section of the pithy banana-stalk, they inserted the ends of the flower-sticks into this center, in such a way as to build up a solid cone of varicolored flowers. The base was hung with a fringe of young palm-leaf, and the whole topped with a fan-shaped ornament, also of young palm-leaf, called a *linggih-linggihan*. This most important creation, not so much an offering as a part of the regalia of the gods, will accompany them everywhere when they have "come down," and appear and reappear in many rituals. With it goes the *rantasan*, a set of clothes or "wardrobe" of the gods, and the "toilet-tray," the *pebersihan* (or *pesoetjian*), a wooden tray containing a mirror, two sorts of combs, little bowls of cosmetics, a cleansing brush of palm-weavings (*peboeoe*), a container for water, and the customary *tjanangs*. As the meaning of this toilet-tray was sufficiently clear, we asked the priest what was the significance of the *tjanang rébong*[1] which goes with it. His answer was "*Artin mepajas*," the meaning of it is dressing up.

On this last night of the preparations as on the previous nights, a new group of men took their turn (*ririgan*) to guard the temple. But on the following night, that of the *odalan*, the entire assembly of the members should be present.

[1] See Belo 1949, Plate III, fig. B.

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CHAPTER THREE

DAY OF THE ODALAN

Making meat offerings (Mébat)

*[796] Before dawn on the morning of the *odalan* the *koel-koel* beat to call the men to the temple to kill the pig (*nampah tjelèng*). The hundred workers [794] were all men, for this is their especial duty in the making of the offerings — *mébat*, the cutting up, chopping, grilling, roasting, and mixing [252] with vegetables and spices of the meat of any slaughtered animal. Many of the mixed dishes (*lawar*) contain rasped coconut, and the job of scraping out the coconut meat, and grating it, kept a number of men busy. Others were pounding on blocks of wood the mixed paste of meat and various spices which would be molded onto the little skewers (*saté*). When these were ready they were laid out over hot coals on a specially constructed grill, fanned and turned by still other workers. The intestines [262] of the pig were washed, and used for making sausages. Part of the raw meat was set aside, and divided into 105 equal portions, for the members to take home, along with their allotment of the *satés*, *lawars*, and other concoctions from the feast.

[239] Especially important was the making of two tree-like offerings (*saté toenggoch*, *saté djerimpen*) from the fat of the pig cut into flower-like [782] designs, impaled on sticks and stuck into a central holder of banana-stalk, to form a cone, not unlike the construction of the *tjanang rébong*. These, when ready, were placed in each of the two *Panggoengan*, the one inside the temple court for the *gendaroewa*, followers of the God of the Temple, the other, the temporary shrine set up opposite and outside the temple gate, for the *gendaroewa* who are followers of the God of the [782] Mountain Goenoeng Agoeng (and of Goenoeng Batoer). It is to be noted [825] that pig meat can under no circumstance be offered to gods (*betara*), [796] whose meat diet is restricted to chicken, duck, and water-buffalo (beef, [784] goat, goose, deer, etc. may be offered to demons, not to gods). The pig is provided to cater to the appetites of the less fastidious guests in the gods' retinue, *gendaroewa*, *kala*, *boeta*, and those of the hosts themselves.

[793] The actual *pemangkoe* of the *Poera Nagasari* is an old man, now extremely feeble, and so rheumatic that he has difficulty in stretching out [888] his legs. He came, however, tottering to the temple on the morning of the *odalan*, and remained there, eating and sleeping in the temple, until after the gods had "gone home" on the fifth day. He has since that time not left his house, and at the subsequent *sepèn* in this temple, six months

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later, he was unable to walk the few hundred yards to be present in the temple of which he is nominally the priest.

His wife is still a vigorous old woman, though she is the mother of seven children, the grandmother of thirty, and the great-grandmother of four. She has never learned, as do many of the *pemangkoes'* wives, to carry out the ritual herself. She does not know the *mantras*, the prayer formulae (although she has had the ordaining ceremony, *mewinten*). And so, on account of the old man's enfeeblement, the *pemangkoe* of the *Poera Désa* was called in to assist at this *odalan*. The entire course of the ritual the old priest left in the younger priest's hands, with the exception of the very intimate ceremony of "bringing down the gods" (*nedoenang betara*), asking them to enter, for the time, the little wooden supports (*tapakan*) provided for them. This part of the ritual the old man insisted on carrying out himself, and watching him, I had the feeling that he would not have liked another than himself to bring down into his temple the gods of the *Poera Nagasari*.

The *tapakan* here are two flat boards, roughly carved into the semblance of a human image, an elongated triangle forming the body, topped by another triangle representing the head, on which the primitive drawing of a face is cut. The boards stand upright, inserted into a long heavy block of wood for a base. Wires project from the horizontal top of the "head" triangle, to be used as holders for the flowers of the head-dress. All during the days of the preparations for the feast these two images have stood on the central shrine (*Pepelik*), neglected and unclothed, adorned only with a little twist of dried-up palm-leaf (*sap-sap*) tied around each "waist," representing a sheath of betel which was presented to them at the last feast.

But on the morning of the *odalan* the *pemangkoe's* wife took them down, and, carrying them to the *Pengaroeman* (Dressing-Up Shrine), dressed them with great care in a complete set of diminutive clothing — the figures are about eighteen inches high. They are wrapped first in a *kamben*, a skirt, then an upper scarf, a *tjerik*, and lastly a gold-leafed panel, a *lamak* such as dancers wear, was bound from their breasts with a brightly colored sash, *saboek*. On their heads she fixed fresh flowers to form a crown. Beside all this finery of yellow and magenta and gold, the round circles of eyes of the crudely drawn face peered out surprisingly. Alongside them were placed the *pebersihan*, the *rantasan*, and *tjanang rébong*. This, however, was still only preparation, for the gods had not yet come down to enter their forms. As a final attention, the old priest himself counted out two strings of 25 old Chinese cash, and tied one of them around the waist of each figure, under their clothes, together with a fresh sheath of betel (*tampel basé*). They should not lack for spending money (*bekel*), nor for a refreshing quid of betel. These are the provisions customarily given to anyone departing on a journey.

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*1796 [983] 11 a. m. Before the ritual could begin, the temple had to be purified by *metjaroe*[1] and *mekeliangan*.[2] The old priest, too, could not begin without purifying himself. He tottered over to the side of the temple court and rinsed out his mouth with water. Then he dressed himself in fresh white clothes, a white *kamben* (loin-cloth), *sapoet* (men's upper scarf) and *oedeng* (head cloth), slipping the dingy white rags he had been wearing out from under the new ones.

Ground offering in five directions (Metjaroe)

*1796 1987 [822] On the ground in the center of the temple court one of the men, a *sinoman*, and a crippled woman who is a *toekang banten* (offering specialist) in the *bandjar*, were setting out the *tjaroe* in the five directions, north, south, east, west, and center. This rather barbaric looking array is particulary prepared for the delection of the demons, the *kala boeta*. When it is spread on the ground it covers an area five or six yards across. As the *kala* of each direction is associated with a fixed number and color, so the constituents of the offerings are varied for each one. The bases of the offerings are twisted and woven mat-like affairs of green palm-leaf, called *sengkoei* (*ikoeh kambing*, in the center). Those in each direction were twisted into braids of the correct number, north 4, east 5, south 9, west 7, and center 8. On these were placed small skewers of chicken meat, *kèténgan*, also 4 to the north, 5 to the east, 9 to the south, 7 to the west, and 8 in the center. In each division a *sorohan* offering was placed, containing two of the cones of cooked rice called *toempeng*. These cones were colored, black to the north, white to the east, red to the south, yellow to the west, and "varicolored" in the center. A varicolored chicken (*siap beroemboen*) was placed in the center. This is known as the *lajang-lajang*.

[1178] A small shrine (*sanggah tjoetjoek*), made from a single bamboo pole split into four at the top to form an offering tray, was stuck into the ground at each of the divisions. Other items were the five *segehan*, each a diminutive 5 directioned feast, and the *tekep api*, two crescents of coconut husk embracing each other and alight.

[1193] The assisting priest, the *pemangkoe dèsa*, then took his place at the head of the offerings, seated on a mat, facing south. Around him were placed the instruments of the ritual, a bowl of water (*penastan*, *djemboeng*), a clay drinking vessel with a spout (*tjaratan*, *tjetepan*), a clay pot (*pajoek*), a clay brazier (*pasepan*) filled with smoking aromatic wood (*madja gaoe* or *dadap*, *kajoe sakti*, or *tjenana*, sandalwood), and incense, a bottle of *toeak* (palm-wine), another of *berem* (rice-wine), the priest's

[1] Ground offering in five directions. In the course of the *odalan*, the *tjaroe* does not necessarily come first, but in other temples may be presented at a later time during the festival. See Belo 1949, Plate III, fig. A.

[2] Offering at each shrine.

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bell (*genta, kelénéng*), assorted flowers, and the three purifying substances: *tepoeng tawar, sesarik, teteboes.*[3]

At the same time the *sinoman* was holding a lighted torch under a little pile of green bamboo sections placed on an improvised hearth at one side of the offerings. When heated, these nodes would explode with a bang — the primitive firecrackers (*keploeg-keploegan, penimpoegan*).

Just at the time of the beginning of the purification ritual, the old *pemangkoe* approached the largest shrine, the *gedong ageng*, the *penjimpenan* or "keeping-place" of the gods of Nagasari. In peril of his life, it seemed, he climbed a shaky bamboo ladder placed against the shrine, and opened the high doors. He took out from the inner recess a box (*kotak*) eight inches high, shaped like a little house with a roof. This he reverently handed to his son, who stood beside him, supporting the box on the top of his head — for this was the container of the sacred *pererai* of the temple, and it would be a sign of disrespect to the gods if it were carried in any position lower than a man's head. While the younger man held it, the old priest cleaned out the floor of the shrine, sweeping the dust and the dried-up remains of *tjanangs* onto the ground. When he considered it clean enough, he replaced the box in the shrine.

Coming down once more, he found and lighted three punk-sticks. One of these he placed on the *gedong* for the gods of the temple, one on the *Padmasana*, the throne of the Sun, and one on the shrine to the Goenoeng Agoeng, the highest mountain, and his wife, Batoer (lake and mountain; therefore, female). These three shrines, as may be seen from the plan, stand in the place of honor at the northeast corner of the temple court. Indeed it is these three deities who receive the most attention — Soerja, the sun; the Goenoeng Agoeng; and the god of the temple in question (in *Poera Désa*, Betara ring Désa; in *Poera Dalem*, Betara ring Dalem; etc.) — identified rather vaguely, but none the less logically enough, with the ancestor god in the person of Betara Hijang Goeroe, or Siwa. The gods whose seats are in all the other shrines are lesser deities, subservient to the great ones, and in some cases even given titles not of *ratoe* (king) but of captains and overseers (as *sedahan pengenter*, or *taksoe*).

Making holy water (Mekarja tirta)

Before beginning the dedication (*nganteb*) of the offerings to the demons, the assisting priest had first to "make holy water." In every temple stands a clay water-jar filled with fresh water, from which the various containers are filled. The simplest pattern for making holy

[3] *tepoeng tawar* — chopped green leaves of *dadap* tree with *koenjit*, which is curry; *sesarik* — chopped yellow *dadap* leaves, *frangi-pani* flower, areca nut, betel-leaf, and yellow rice; *teteboes*, handspun thread.

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*796 water is to bring a small offering — a *tjanang* will do — to the shrine of
798 a god, together with a container of ordinary water. With a few words,
[793] and the gesture of wafting the offering towards the god, the god is "asked for water" (*noenas toja*), and the little container is taken away with water now made holy. This simple rite, which anyone may perform in a household shrine, is of course very much elaborated in the ceremony which the Brahmana high priest, the *pedanda*, performs when he is asked to "make holy water," and the *tirta ané toenasa di grija* (holy water asked from the *pedanda's* house) is correspondingly more potent. Whenever the gods are symbolically bathed, the bath-water may be asked for to be used as holy water. Then it is called *banjoen tjokor* (washing water of the feet of the gods). When a supply of holy water runs low it may have ordinary water (*jeh biasa*) added to it to replenish it. This replenishing is called *antoenin*. Incidentally, the Balinese call their religion *Agama Tirta*, the religion of holy water. *Jeh*, *toja*, and *tirta* are the low, high, and very high words for water. In any ceremony several sorts of holy water may be used.

*796 The formal beginning of the ritual was the priest's asking for a favor (*penoegrahan*) of the gods. lest he offend them. This favor takes the form of a flower. The priest recited a prayer-formula over the flower (a *frangipani*), then placed it behind his ear, as a sign of his dedication to the gods. The *mantra*, in the old language (mixed Old Javanese, and Old Balinese) terminated with a Sanskrit phrase:

[798] [539] *Wong panoegraha manoearem déwa data anoegrahaken, ngertjana déwa déwi, ja nama soewaha.*

The Sanskrit words, *ja nama soewaha* mean "Honor and hail!"

[798] Next the priest dedicated the bell, also by praying with a flower and placing it on the handle of the bell. He asked Betara Siwa that he allow
[796] the gods to come down and "stand" on the bell as their *tapakan* or
[782] support. The gods are Betara Isoewara (Iswara) Brahma, and Wisnoe (Vishnu). This prayer in the old language he intoned in the rapid, flowing manner of delivery called *sesontèng*, ending with a chanted line in the Sanskrit:

[539] *Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Siwa, angadeg Padoeka Betara ring tapakan padoeka Betara, anoegerahaken Betara Isoewara, Betara Brahma, Betara Wisnoe.*
Wong wigenem ja nama soewaha.

Om, there being no hindrance, honor and hail!

Then he asked the gods to be pleased to vouchsafe holy water:

[539] *Pakoeloen padoeka kénak padoeka betara anoegerahaken tirta.*
Wong ja nama soewaha.

With this he sprinkled "ordinary water" (*jeh biasa*) on the offerings,

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using a marigold. With these words he made the water holy, calling upon the Ganges.[4]

When the priest had intoned this prayer, he picked up a flower, smoked it over the brazier, and gently wafted into space the essence of the *sloka*, two verses in Sanskrit sung to a special melody and meter:

Balinese Version	Sanskrit[5]
Wong perenamia perenadiem	*oṃ praṇamya bhāskaraṃ devaṃ*
Sarwa kelesa winasajem	*sarvakleśavināśanam*
Perenamija raksa sanem	*paramādityaśivārthaṃ*
Boeta Boeti para nanem.	*bhuktimuktivarapradam*
Wong Gangga Sarasowati Sindoe	*oṃ gaṅgā sarasvatī sindhur*
Sapakosi kinandem	*vipāśā kauśikī nadī*
Jamoe Jama jamenandem	*yamunā mahātīrthā*
Sarwa joentja menandem.	*sarayūśca mahānadī*

English

Om. Having bowed to the Sun God,
The destroyer of all afflictions,
Having the supreme sun as his beneficent purpose,[6]
The best giver of enjoyment and release.[7]

[4] The Ganges is called upon (Betara Gangga) as the source of holy water, but the existence of such a river is unknown to the priest, whose only association with Betara Gangga is "the God of Water." Also, the phrasing for the macrocosmos and the microcosmos (*boewana agoeng, boewana alit*) is a mystery to him, though he knows that the world in man's body (*goemi di awaké*) is somehow concerned.

Text, taken from the priest's *lontar* (called *Wisana Déwa*): *Pakoeloen mangkin seredah betara, moentjar aken tirta kambenaloé, oepetin nira Betara Gangga, winadahan koendi manik, pinaka oeripin boewana agoeng, pinaka oeripin boewana alit, pinaka soekelaning boewana agoeng, pinaka soekelaning boewana alit, pangeleboeran ipén ala, oesara leboer toemoro, sasab merana, toedjoe teloeh tarantjana, sapataning wong atoewan, kaloekat kaleboer déning tirta kambenaloening betara, sadira aken mentjoer moentjerat, angilangnang dasa malaning manoesa, kenéng sapaning déwata, moeang manoesa wisésa, kascepat déning tirta kambenaloening betara, moeksah ilang lara roga, sebel kandel, moeang patakaning djanma manoesa, wastoe poenah ilang sidi rastoe.*

Now Lord God be pleased, spurt forth the holy water (called) *kambenaloe*, the gift of the God of Water, in the jewelled pot as container, as if it brought to life the great world, as if it brought to life the small world (interpreted as 'the land and the sea in man's body'), as if it purified the great world, as if it purified the small world, transforming (changing for the better) whatever is evil, whatever is bad, pests of all kinds, illnesses of all kinds, cursed people of all ages. Let them be cleansed and transformed by the holy water *kambenaloe* belonging to the god, swiftly let the water spout and spurt forth, let them be lost, the ten ills of man, of those who were struck by the speech of the gods, or by people with magic power, let them be purified by the holy water *kambenaloe* of the god, let the woes of the invalided disappear and be lost, as well as those of women who are unclean being pregnant and unmarried, and of people who have never matured, let these evils disappear and be lost and washed away.

[5] Sanskrit edited, translated and annotated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.

[6] Or should we read *paramādityaṃ śivārthaṃ*, which would be "the supreme son of Aditi, of beneficent purpose?" Both readings metrically deficient.

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*796
[539]

Om. Ganges Sarasvati, Sindhu,[8]
Vipaśa,[9] Kauśiki River,
Yamuna,[10] the very best,
And Sarayu, Mahanadi.

[797] [798] He told us afterwards that he "dared not understand" these verses. He assumed, however, that the first was to the *boeta* (demons) since they are mentioned, and the second to the gods, as he knows there is a god called Jamoe who sits *kadja* (towards the high center), and one Jama who sits *kelod* (towards the coast). He finished with the chanted formula:

Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe

which he interprets "May the gods be pleased," at the same time sprinkling the offerings with a flower. The Sanskrit of this formula is: *oṃ śreyo bhavatu oṃ sukham bhavatu* (may there be prosperity, may there be happiness).

This finished the making of holy water accompanying the *metjaroe*.

Symbolic sweeping (Melis)

*796 [797] [798] Next came the dedication of the *lis*, the intricately composed brush-like creation of young palm-leaf. Held in the hands of a woman assistant, it was ceremonially "cut" three times with a large-bladed knife held in the left hand. The fringes of its "hair" were loosed from the binding, and to them were attached two *képèngs* (Chinese cash). The *tipats*, a woven palm-leaf container for cooked rice in the form of the male and female genitals (*tipat poesoeh* and *tipat toeloed*), were cut open. The priest inserted into them a few grains of raw rice. So weighted and prepared, the *lis* [783] now had to be purified by the three-fold ritual of *tepoeng tawar*, *sesarik*, *teteboes*, (see note 3, page 23). He placed a bit of each of the chopped leaf mixtures upon the *lis*, and then a strand of thread. He sprinkled the *lis*, [789] and one of the assistants waved it slowly up and down (*sampoetang*, sweeping) in the five directions, while he chanted in *serontja* meter:

[539] *Wong sang djanoer djini pateka, djinpitan denira Betara Goeroe, tiban mangètan menadi selaka, tiba mangidoel dadi tembaga, tiba mangoelon dadi kentjana, tiba mengelor dadi wesi, tiba maring tengah dadi pemarpaangsa, sinembah déning sanaka poetoe.*

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

[823] This prayer, addressed to Betara Goeroe, mentions the metals belonging to the five directions: silver (white) to the east; copper (red) to the south; gold (yellow) to the west; iron (black) to the north; and an

[7] Release from transmigration is understood.
[8] Now called the Indus River.
[9] Now called the Beas River.
[10] Now called the Jumna River.

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alloy (that used for gongs), *pemarpasangan* ("the way of the pure!") in the center. It is repeated by the priest at every reoccurrence of a *lis* in the ritual, and also at the purification *mekeliang* following, in this case, the *metjaroe*.

He proceeded then to the "invitation of the demons" of the five directions, addressing each one in turn at the same time ringing his bell to call them.

To the east:

Lord Sang Boeta Keroena, *manis* is your day of the five day week, Betara Isoewara is your god, stand in this court, here is the food, my gift to you, patties of white rice, meat of a white chicken, cut and the skin spread out as if alive, thus it is here. With your wife, come to eat and to drink. And when you have eaten and drunk, watch over this court, do not bring misfortune. If you do not wish to stay, go home then to Kajangan, each to your home, Sang Boeta Sice five, fifty, five hundred, ...

At the end of each invitation he intoned the formal *exvoi*:

Wong joeraatoe jo nama soewaha.

May there be honor. Hail!

The priest said that the meaning of this formula was "if anything is too little or too much in the offerings, go after the offering-makers *toekang banten*), do not go after me." (Dr. Goris suggests that what he means is not to give a translation, but to tell the purpose for which he uses the formula.)

As he finished the individual invitation in a given direction the women assisting him poured out each time onto the ground water from the *tjaratan*, *toeak* and *arak-berem* from the two bottles, libations indicating that the demons are being given to drink. Our priest says that gods and demons do not drink water, and that the pouring from the water-vessel is in order that they may wash their hands after eating.

The invitations to the demons of the other directions were identical in phrasing, only the names, days, gods, colors, and numbers being changed, thus:

DIRECTION	DEMON	DAY IN 5-DAY WK.	GOD	COLOR	NUMBER
East	Sang Boeta Keroena	*manis*	Isoewara	white	5, 50, 500
South	Sang Boeta Kala Djanggitan	*poing*	Brahma	red	9, 90, 900
West	Sang Boeta Kala Pasah	*pon*	Mahadéwa	yellow	7, 70, 700
North	Sang Boeta Langkir	*wagé*	Wisnoe	black	4, 40, 400
Center	Sang Boeta Tigasakti	*klion*	Siwa	varicolored	8, 80, 800

And at the end of the last invitation was added the line

Lorang Sang Boeta Wétan Kidoel Koelon.

Go north (= go home), demons of the east, the south, the west.

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*1796 [783] Often at *metjaroes* a part of the purification is a scraping and sweeping of the ground whereon the offerings are laid out, using a ceremonial scraper (*toeloed*) and broom (*sampat*). On this occasion it was omitted.

Purification ceremony at each shrine (Mekeliangan)

*1796 783 When the *metjaroe* had been dedicated, the offerings were removed, and the priest went on to the second purification ceremony, *mekeliangan*, for which a mat had been spread before the shrine of the Sun. The demons having been appeased and sent away, the place (*tongos*) had now to be figuratively cleansed before the gods were invited to descend. The offerings for this ritual were a typical purificatory set:

[539]

soetji asoroh
peras adjengan sesantoen
pengoelapan pengambèan
sesorohan asoroh

[782] The priest took up a flower, prayed with it, and sprinkled the offerings. He took another flower, prayed with it, and dropped it into the bowl of water (*penastan*). Then he took bits of the leaf mixtures (*tepoeng tawar* and *sesarik*), and after praying with each one, dropped them too into the water. The bit of thread he cast before him. He prayed, and sprinkled before him the water of a young coconut (*kekeloedan*). With a small brush of palm-leaf, a *peboeoe*, neither so large nor so intricate in construction as the *lis*, he sprinkled holy water before him, and wafted the essence of the offerings "towards Betara Siwa."

This priest has explained to us at other times that "when He sits upon the throne of Soerja, He is called Betara Siwa — when He sits in the *Kemimitan* (the shrine of the God of the Temple) He is called Betara Goeroe." We find this concept recurring in the ritual, and therefore we were not surprised to be told that in offering before the throne of Soerja he was in fact "begging for water" (*noenas tirta*) from Betara Siwa.

[782] In conclusion, water was poured upon the ground from the *tjaratan*, and palm-wine and rice-wine from the two bottles. The priest with his assistants then rose, carrying each one a container or an offering. The little group visited in turn each one of the shrines and buildings in the temple court, the priest himself bearing the young coconut, and at each shrine they sprinkled, spilled, and wafted the essence of the offerings. When they had finished within, they passed through the gates to the [778] outer temple where they attended to the *Panggoengan*, to the shrines on either side of the entrance, and finally to Peretiwi, Goddess of the Earth. The priest squatted down as he ministered to her, for in this temple she has no shrine, she receives offerings upon the ground, the earth itself is her place of being.

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Awakening of the gods of the temple (Tetangi)

The time had now come to awaken[11] the gods, to ask them to come down, and to dress them. "*Jen sampoen mekeliang, dados nedoenang, dados ngiasin Ida Betara ring Nagasari,*" said the priest.

The old man was seated cross-legged upon a mat facing the *gedong*, the shrine of the gods of Nagasari. Before him were placed the *pasepan*, the brazier sending up a cloud of aromatic smoke, a bowl (*penastan*) of water, and the drinking vessel (*tjaratan*) — no offerings. Very slowly, the old man put the tips of his fingers together, and raised his hands three times to his forehead in the gesture of reverence to the gods (*mebakti*). Then he took up the smoking *pasepan*, and holding it aloft, intoned this prayer:

Pakoeloen mangkin manoesan Ida, angatoerin Padoeka Betara toemoeroen, maka-pangoendang Betara Jang Déwa Gana malingga máring koekoes, menjan madjagaoe tjenana.

Lord, now this man of yours asks you to descend. May you be invited by Betara Jang Déwa Gana to be seated in the smoke of incense, *madjagaoe*, and sandalwood.

(It was explained to us that the smoke is like a ladder (*djan*), that it makes a "way" (*pemarga*) for the gods to descend upon.)

The old man sprinkled from the bowl, spilled from the drinking vessel, and once more holding up the brazier, wafted three times the smoke towards the shrine.

Bringing down the gods (Nedoenang betara)

The old man then climbed up the ladder placed before the entrance to the shrine. His wife stood by, his son and his grandson bearing the two ceremonial parasols. He took out once more from the shrine the little house (*kotak*) containing the sacred *pererai*. Borne upon the head of the priest's wife, and shaded by the parasols, they were carried the few yards across the court to the pavilion (*Pengaroeman*). Here, on the raised shelf above the offering platform, the box was set down, resting upon a small mattress, which in its turn lay on a tiny mat.

The prayer for this bringing down of the gods runs:

Pangoendang para betara ring mertja pada, toemoeli tedoen betara ring Kajangan, pada iniring déning déwa sanaka poetoe, mocang watek gendaroewa widiadara widiadari, mangétan ring pasamoewan. Teka ring désa poerwa, malingga ida ring patarana selaka, mepoepoel ring pasamoewan, mocang widiadara widiadari. Raoeh ida ring désa dakcina, malingga ida ring patarana tembaga, mapoepoel ida ring pasamoewan. Raoeh ida ring désa pantjima, malingga ida ring patarana kentjana, mapoepoel ida ring pasamoewan. Raoeh ida ring désa lor, malinggih ida ring patarana wesi, mapoepoel ring pesamoewan, mocang widiadara widiadari.

[11] The priests here do not explicitly state the "awakening" (*tetangi*) as we found in other districts. But when asked if they did "*ngatoerang tetangi*," they said, "Yes, at the time the *pasepan* was offered before *nedoenang betara*."

*796 *Ring tengah raoeh ida goeroe déwa, ring Kajangan Sakti, malinggih ida ring pata-*
793 *rana emas, ratna amantja warna, pada iniring déning watek nata déwata, moeang*
782 *widiadara widiadari, pada katoeran ida déning manoesa, moeang pada amoekti*
banten, soemirit sarwa soetji, ring Kajangan Sakti.

[539] All the gods are invited to earth, to come down straightway, Lords, to this temple, all of them followed by the minor deities, their children and grandchildren, and the hordes of *gendaroewa*, the *widiadara* and *widiadari*, to sit together (to the east?) on the meeting-pavilion. Those who come from the east, let them sit on the seat of silver, gathered together on the meeting pavilion, together with the *widiadara* and *widiadari*. Those who come from the south, let them sit on the seat of copper, gathered together on the meeting pavilion. Those who come from the west, let them sit on the golden seat, gathered together on the meeting pavilion. Those who come from the north, let them sit on the seat of iron, gathered together on the meeting pavilion together with the *widiadara* and *widiadari*. And in the center let Ida Goeroe Déwa come to the holy temple to sit on the seat of gold studded with jewels of many colors, followed by the hordes of all the minor deities, together with the *widiadara* and *widiadari*. To all of them offerings are given by the people, and all receive their share of the offerings, sufficent and of all kinds, in the holy temple.

Then comes the Sanskrit verse:

Balinese Version

[539] *Wong sama samoewem mahadewa, sarwa perani winta karem,*
mamontjah sarwa papébioh, pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Sanskrit

oṃ kṣamasva māṃ mahādeva sarvaprāṇihitaṃkara
māṃ moca sarvapāpebhyaḥ pālayasva sadāśiva!

English

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva), O benefactor of all living beings!
Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada-Śiva!

Dressing the gods (Ngiasin betara)

*796 On the pavilion beside the gods was the *pebersihan*, the toilet-table, already prepared. The two board *tapakan* were waiting on the lower
[782] level of the platform. The old priest took up the smoking *pasepan*, placed it for a moment before each of the *tapakan* in turn. When they were smoked, he lifted it again and set it, with the bowl of water (*jéh ning*), at the foot of the *kotak*.

He opened the little doors of the *kotak* and took out a little bundle wrapped in white cloth. He laid it on the *pebersihan* tray. Undoing the bundle he took out two tiny faces, little slabs of sandalwood, the faces delicately painted white, with arched eyebrows of black and smiling red lips, a male and a female. Holding them in his right hand, he took up from the toilet-table a diminutive brush of grass and a tiny flower.

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Making bathwater for the gods (Mekarja banjoen tjokor)

Lifting all these together, he prayed a moment. Then with the faces in his left hand, he delicately dipped his little brush and flower in the bowl of water, and three times lightly brushed the faces. This bath-water of the gods now became holy, and would be later sprinkled upon and given to drink to all the members of the temple.

From the *pebersihan* the priest took a bit of cotton, and ritually wiped the little faces — a light touch, three times repeated.

Then, taking one of the faces in each of his hands, he bowed them from either side close over the bowl of the smoking brazier, quite as if they had been two little trance-dancers being imbued, through the smoke, with the spirit of the god.

It remained only to fix the little faces upon the head of the board *tapakan*, and the god was complete. But the priest did something unexpected. He placed both the little faces on one of the *tapakan*, obscuring the crudely carved visage on the board behind them. Then, with infinitely slow motions and gentle care, he returned to the *kotak*, removed from it another little bundle containing two more *pererai*, cleansed them, smoked them in the same way, and inserted them over the face of the second *tapakan*. Thus the two supports, each dressed and adorned as an entity, became each one the repository for a god and his wife, the male and the female principle, united.

This redoubling of a pattern is all too common in Balinese ritual, and the confusion which, to our minds, it entails, seems not to bother the Balinese in the least. They told us, for instance, that the two *tapakan* as they stood upon the offering-platform, before the little faces had been added, were male and female, and even volunteered that the male sat to the west, with the female upon his left hand. The *pererai*, too, were male and female, each pair. When we asked how this could be, they looked at us with pained and puzzled looks, as if to say, "How can you ask such troublesome questions, which no one has ever thought to ask before!" But the young assisting priest came to the rescue with a well-found explanation: "One of the *tapakan* is the God of Nagasari, male and female. The other is the God of the Goenoeng Agoeng (Great Mountain) with his wife, the Goenoeng Batoer." And everyone was satisfied, no one venturing to enquire how of these two entities, one could be male and the other female.

To the gods now "come down" the priest lifted the brazier once more, sprinkled from the bowl, spilled from the water-jar, and from the two bottles of palm-wine and rice-wine. Then the two priests, with the wife and the son of the old man, lifted their hands to their foreheads in obeisance to the gods, and they were borne again in ceremony across the few paces of the *Balé Pepelik* (central shrine) where they were "seated" (*ngatoerang melinggih*).

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Seating the gods (Melinggih)

*796 At their feet were placed their regalia, the *pebersihan*, the *rantasan*, a pile of gaily colored stuffs, neatly folded and bound with a skein of white thread, adorned with an ornament of coins and mirrors. With the water vessels and the brazier, and a set of offerings (*soetji*)[12] the priest now murmured a few words in ordinary polite speech, begging the gods to be pleased now to sit here in this shrine. For the part of the ritual which has just been described, these priests do not use any of the esoteric prayer-formulae, the *mantras*, but address the gods only with ordinary *sesonting*.

To the east of this temple stands a little shrine on the edge of the ravine dropping down to the river, sacred to I Pandjak Gamang, Follower Water-Sprite, follower of the God of Nagasari. To him now were offered fruit, cakes, cooked rice, and skewered pig (*wowohan*, *boentilan*, *nasi baléan*, and *kawisan*), as it was assumed that on the arrival of the god this special follower would be sure to have accompanied him. Messengers were now sent off by the women in charge of the offerings to each of the other temples kept up by this *bandjar*, the *Poera Désa*, *Poeseh*, *Dalem*, and *Panataran*, and to the shrine in the graveyard, *Meradja-Pati*, to invite the gods there to the feast. The messengers took along offerings of *soetji*.

Invitation to neighboring gods (Matoerin pioening)

This rite is called *atoerin pioening*, to let them know, and it is said, "*Jen toesing Ida Betara atoerin banten pioening, Ida toesing raoeh*" (If the gods were not given letting-know offerings they would not come).

Again we are reminded of the house-party analogy, for the gods of the temple of Nagasari having arrived for their visit, the gods of the temples in the neighborhood are invited to dine and to spend the evening. They are, however, not asked to remain, for the house is full. After the first night's entertainment is done, they are politely sent home, together with the august Siwa, and all their hordes of followers.

Among the most charming of the followers who would attend the feast are the heavenly nymphs, the *widiadara-widiadari*, who are beautiful to look upon, whose bodies are small (*meraga alit*) and who never grow old. Indeed, though all agree that they are youthful, it is not at all sure just how young they may be. Some say, as the priest here in *Bandjar Koetoeh*, that they are about as big as a ten-year old girl, and that is why they should be carried in the ritual by little girls. They have not matured, and they may therefore not marry. Others, who call them familiarly

[12] See Belo 1949, Plate V. Compare also Bateson and Mead 1942, pp. 63, 91, 144, 248, 251, 252, 255 and especially Plate 98, no. 2 and Plate 99, no. 5.

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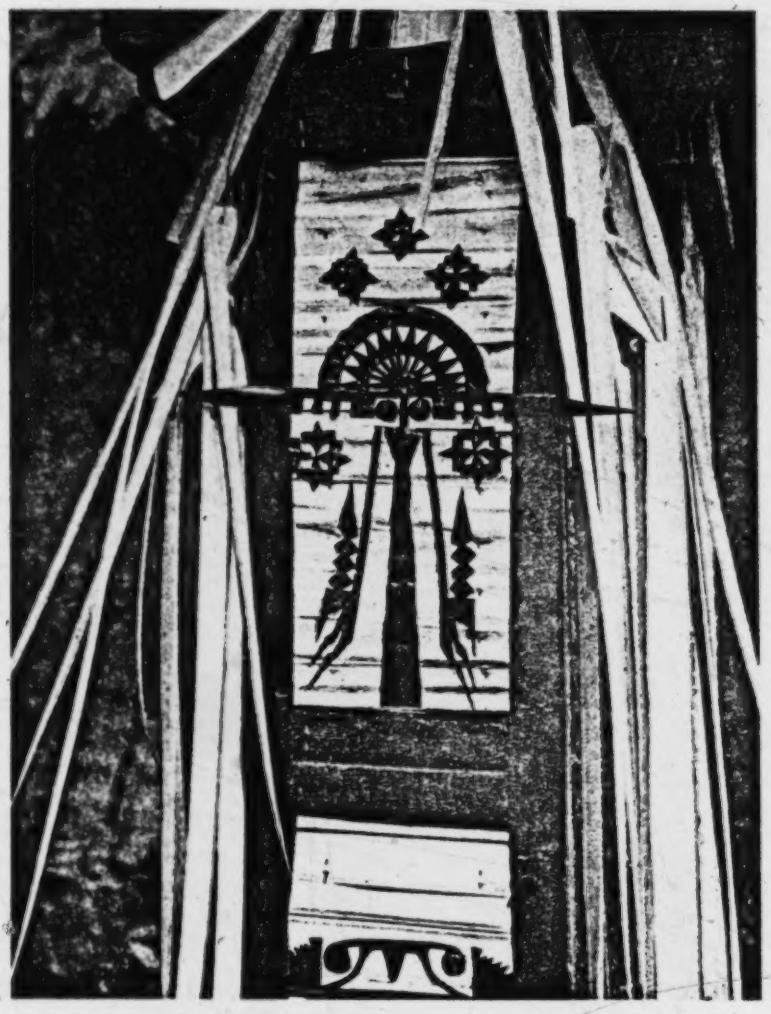

Tjili pattern in Old Indonesian design on a *lamak* panel of cut palm, decorating a shrine

[opp. p. 32]

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déwa alit, small gods, understand that they are as young in years as they are small in stature, mere babies in fact, still carried on the hip. We have found it everywhere the custom for the figures of these small gods to be borne in the crook of the left arm, just as babies are carried astride the hip, and the Balinese term for this way of carrying them is the same as for babies (*njabit*, *njinggal*), whereas the usual mode of carrying gods upon the head is called *njoewoen*, *moendoet*. In some districts it is even customary to bind the figure to the child or woman who carries it with a strip of white cloth passed over the right shoulder, just as babies may be carried slung in the mother's *antèng*, the ends of the scarf passing over her right shoulder tucked under the baby's bottom as it sits astride her left hip. We have seen this custom misunderstood, broken down, and made incomprehensible, as in Dendjalan, where the figure was bound in the waist band of a little girl. In support of the interpretation of the figures as infants, not as bigger children, it may be said that it is as usual in Bali to see babies borne on the hips of small girls as of adult women, so that the identification in age of the *widiadari* with her nurse does not follow. On the other hand, the little trance-dancers *sang hijang dedari* (*dedari* is Balinese for the Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*, of which *widiadari* is a corruption) entered in trance by the very same spirits which imbue these figures, are little girls, from five years up to, and ending at, puberty.

Now in the Temple of Nagasari it was time to prepare the *tapakan* (supports) for the representation of the *widiadara-widiadari*. The figures are known as *gegaloeh*, and had to be made of *boesoeng metantan*, young palm-leaf fresh from the tree, so that it would be sure that it had not fallen and touched the ground. Two of the most practised offering-makers settled themselves on the base of the *Balé Pengaroeman* with the fresh yellow leaves in their laps. One of these women is a cripple, whose whole body is twisted and deformed, who limps, and whose face is a crumpled mask. It was all right, apparently, for her to take part in the making of the *gegaloeh*; but when a third woman with a protruding belly came over to lend a hand, these two motioned her away, calling out, "*Da! Anak beling, sing dadi!*" (Don't! A pregnant women, that's not allowed!)[13]

With flying fingers they folded, cut out, twisted, and wove the strands of palm, to make according to its set pattern each of the constituents of this "*sanggah oerip*" (shrine of life). Thus four sides of leaf opening at right angles to each other, with a cut-out design, as liver (*ati*), the body (*pengawak*), formed of four leaves bent outwards, standing on a base

[13] Cf. a pregnant woman is not allowed to go near a delivery. Puppets are also said sometimes to be nursed (*ngemban*, to nurse; *pengemban*, the nurse) by those who carry them.

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PLATE IV

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The priest, the *pemangkoe désa*

[opp. p. 33]

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*796 [778] (*tatakan*), and joined at the top. Into this body were pushed, besides the central liver, separate weavings for each of the following:

tangkor	chest
toelang iga-iga (2)	rib bones
basang wajah	the old belly
basang ngoeda	the young belly (intestines)
odel	navel
lilit linting	sinews or blood-vessels? (literally, coiling)

The head was a fan-shaped *linggih-linggihan*, similar to the one topping the *tjanang rébong*. A final addition was the *djan sesapi*, or bird-ladder, indeed formed in the shape of a ladder with two winged birds at the top, inserted into the body "*apang dadi widiadara-widiadari ke tengah*" (so that the *widiadara-widiadari* may get inside). When ready, a few grains of rice and a sheath of betel were dropped into the two figures, and flowers added to adorn their headdresses. Each was then dressed in a little skirt of calico, tied on with a sash. They were placed on the shelf of the *Balé Pengaroeman*, the male to the right and the female upon his left,[14] to await the evening when the spirits would arrive to enter into them.

Members' feast (*Bandjar ketegakan*)

[252] It was now long past midday, and men of the *bandjar* who had been busy all the morning with their steaming, boiling, mixing and grilling of delicacies — an activity quite apart from all that had been going on for the honor of the demons and the gods — had now finished their savory task, and were ready to go home to enjoy the fruits of their [264] [198] labor. The feast of the members, an essential part of temple festivals in the old-style villages, has been dropped as a communal activity in the villages of this district. The members prefer to take each his share home with him, so that he may enjoy it in private, and together with his family. But the term used is still *ketegakan* (to be seated, to eat together), just as if the members had sat down in formal lines to a communal repast. The men left the temple, each bearing his allotment of raw meat, *lawar*, *saté*, and rice. Towards evening the *bandjar* would again be recalled, but this time, for the great majority, it would be the women of the household who came.

Giving of offerings (*Matoeran*)

*796 782 5 p. m. Shortly before sundown, one could see coming along the lanes leading to the temple, along the foot-paths and along the rims of the rice-field walls, lines of women bearing each an offering on her head.

[14] In other districts we have seen 2, 3, or 1 *pegaloh*. Sometimes it is said that all are female, sometimes that they are one male and two females, etc.

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These offerings are the *matoeran*, the gifts, and distinguished from the *pesoe-pesoean* in that they are not specifically required of the members, but voluntary gifts. Each household may choose what offering to make up and send along to the gods, according to how prosperous the family feels at the time, and to what provisions are on hand. Here the pattern followed is the same as that the Balinese use when they go to visit the palace of a noble, the *grija* of a high priest, or the house of a friend to whom they wish to be polite. It would be unseemly to arrive empty-handed. They come to the temple bearing gifts, so that the gods may be well disposed towards them. Although there is no pressure put upon them to bring these offerings, in this village it is rare indeed for a household to omit sending one of the "voluntary" offerings at the time of the *odalan*, unless they are forbidden to do so on account of being unclean. Women who were born in this village but who, on their marriage, moved away to another, must of necessity offer in the temples of their husbands' villages. But they often return at the time of the *odalan* to give voluntary offerings in the temples of their fathers.

Here the great majority bring the offering called *adjoeman* (food): *telompokan* 2, *katjang-katjang* 2, *tanding*, *bé siap apaa*, *djadja begina barak poetih*, *tjanang genten* 2, *metatakan taledan* (2 rice patties, 2 portions of peanuts, a chicken thigh, red and white cakes, 2 trays of betel, all set out on a round tray).

Arrived at the temple, the offering is sprinkled with holy water, the officiants remove the two *tjanangs*, place them on the central shrine (*Pepelik*) at the feet of the gods, and the priest prays:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara, Ratoe Padoeka Betara sepian Padoeka Betara angatoerang sarining boerat wangi, lenga wangi, pingkalih joenan poetih koening.

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

Lord God, your servant offers you the essence of perfumed ointment, of perfumed oil, together with refreshment yellow-white.

May there be honor. Hail!

Reverence (Mebakti)

The people whose offerings have been dedicated kneel on the floor of the court (or if men, sit cross-legged, removing their head-cloths) and taking a flower between their finger tips make three times the obeisance (*mebakti*) to the gods. Then an assistant comes to them with a dipper of holy water (*banjoen tjokor*), sprinkles them three times, and pours out three times into their cupped hands a little of the water. They drink, they pass the water over their faces, and lastly over their hair. As group after group of worshippers are thus attended to, it would seem that the little bowl of holy water in which "the gods' feet were washed" in the morning would hardly suffice. But the bowl can be replenished again and

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But the bowl can be replenished again and
again, simply by adding (*antoenin*) ordinary water from the temple's jar, mixing it with the few remaining drops of the *banjoen tjokor*, which make it holy.

When a woman comes bearing a baby into the temple, she brings a special offering to be offered at a special shrine. The child, until it has had its three-months-old celebration (*samboetan*) may not enter the temple. But at the first *odalan* following this ceremony the baby is brought to the temple, where his mother or aunt makes the obeisance for him at the shrine of Ratoe Ngeroerah, offering a *tipat dampoelan*. Other special offerings may be brought at this time to the gods. At this *odalan*, for instance, a woman who had been ill fulfilled the promise she had made to the gods if she should be cured. These "promised" offerings (*penaoeran, sesangi, sesaoedan*) also may be chosen at will. In this case there were two tall *djerimpen* (5 feet high), *pengoelapan pengambéan*, *peras adjengan sesantoen*, and a pair of silver flower ornaments for the headdresses of the gods of Nagasari. When they had been offered, the silver flowers were added to the natural ones adorning the crowns of the little figures. Another woman brought a *penaoeran* of *djadja koes-koes* (cakes) with an "essence" of 150 cash; this she had promised to the gods when her cow was lost, and as she came upon it in a neighboring village, she could do no less than to fulfill her promise at the subsequent visit of the gods to their temple.

Now the women, when they had received holy water, could take their offerings home again, with the exception of the special offerings such as the *djerimpen* and the silver flowers. Those who had brought *adjoeman* carried them away, the poorer only by the two *tjanangs* (little trays of betel) left on the shrine of the gods.

In the temple the coming and going of women bearing offerings, the groups of women and children kneeling to be blessed, the priest busy dedicating the voluntary offerings, the players of the *gamelan* (orchestra) assembling, made a scene of riotous color and confusion. All the people, all the *pengujah*, would shortly be called by the loud beat of the *koel-koel*. When all had gathered, the orchestra would begin to play, and the gods taken down from their "seat" to be ceremonially escorted to the bathing-place (*bédji*).

Procession to the bath (Ke bédji)

It was the hour near sunset when all the Balinese of the warm regions go to the bathing-place (*kajeh*). The word covers the two activities of "having a bath" and "fetching water" to be carried home to the house. At the *odalan*, the identical pattern is followed. The gods are escorted to the bathing-place for their bath, and water is brought back to the temple. In the village of Sajan, the gods of the different temples go

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each to their particular bathing-place, just as it is customary for the villagers to go each day some to this spring, some to that, some to the river, according to habit and convenience. Here in the *Poera Nagasari* it is the custom to take the gods to a small shrine (*bedoegoel*) standing in the fields a hundred yards distant from the temple. This shrine is formed in the shape of a water spout, and the difficulty of its being quite dry is overcome by simply pouring in a jar of water at the top, and filling the vessels for holy water from the spout as the water flows through. In this way the water is symbolically "asked for" in the sacred spot.

7 : 20 p. m. The people were rather late in assembling, so that it had been dark for almost an hour when the procession set off to the bathing-place. The *koel-koel* (slit-gong) sounded to call the people to line up for the procession. The gods were taken down from the central shrine, borne on the heads of two women, the wife and the grand-daughter of the old priest. Small boys carried the ceremonial spears, and two men the parasols to "shade" the gods on their way. Other women carried the "regalia" (*bebaktan* — literally, that which is carried): the brazier, water-vessels, the bottles of palm-wine and rice-wine, the *pebersihan*, *rantasan*, and *tjanang rébong* for the gods' toilet. Still others bore the offerings, the usual *soetji* set, with *pengoelapan pengamběan*, *sesantoen*, *pendětan*, and the *lis*. In the procession, those women who knew them chanted the old ritual hymns (*mekidoeng*), as they went along. The rear of the procession was brought up by members of the *gamelan* beating upon drums, cymbals, and gongs, beating out a rhythmic accompaniment to the march, in competition with high-pitched dragging measures of the women's singing.

At the *bédji* (bathing-place), a temporary altar (*asagan*) had been set up beside the little shrine, to hold offerings. The women bearing the gods stood facing the east, and before them were set down the *bebaktan*. The priest sat facing east, facing the shrine (to Betara Gangga). He began by the prayer dedicating himself (as on page 24), placing a flower in his ear — it was necessary to do this in case "something dirty might have fallen on his head on the way," so that it would be quite sure he was sufficiently pure to minister to the gods. He followed this with the dedication of the bell, and the sprinkling of the offerings with the "ordinary water" brought from the temple. At the same time an assistant poured out water from the *tjaratan*, onto the ground.

Then the priest prayed (*sesontèng*):

Balinese Version

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Ratoe Betara
Gangga, kinak Padoeka Betara, Ratoe
Betara Nagasari djagi-mekokobok, sepian
Padoeka Betara angatoerang sarining
Asep menjan madjagaoe tjenana, pinghalih

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*796
793
[782]
[539]

Angatoerang sarining kekoerah pewadjikan,
Moeang pengersikan, tigasan.
Wong tjang tjemana nama nama,
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

Sanskrit[15]

om śam śamanīya namaḥ
om śreyo bhavatu
om sukham bhavatu

English

Om, blessing, O thou who art to be appeased, obeisance.
Om, may there be prosperity,
Om, may there be happiness.

[776] In this prayer the priest addressed Betara Gangga telling him that the gods of Nagasari had come to bathe (*mekokobok*), and that he, the priest, was offering the brazier of incense, the face-washing and shampoo (*kekoerah*) and the hand-washing vessels (*pewadjikan*), together with the toilet-table (*pengersikan*) and the wardrobe (*tigasan*). It will be noticed that in the prayer the terms for these ritual objects differ from those in ordinary use. (The *tjanang rébong* is called in prayer *tjanang sengkang*.)

After this, he took up from the *pengeneng* offering a bit of the *tepoeng tawar* and *sesarik* mixtures, and the bit of thread, and cast each one in turn before him, onto the offerings — although in fact these attentions were supposed to be given directly to the god Betara Gangga, as the accompanying prayers state:

[782] [539]

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara titijang angatoerang Podaeka Betara sarining tepoeng tawar, setangan kekiwa tengen.

Wong Padoeka Betara titijang angatoerin padoeka betara sarining sesedep, sedadan kekiwa tengen.

Wong katocran Padoeka Betara sarining tetebas, sedocoerin kekiwa tengen.

Lord God, I offer you the essence of *tepoeng tawar*, on each of your hands, left and right.

Wong, Lord God, the essence of *sesedep* (*sesarik*), on each breast, left and right.

Wong, the Lord God is given the essence of *tetebas* (*teteboes*), upon the head, left and right.

The formula "*Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe*" followed the offering of each, accompanied by the sprinkling of water.

Now an assistant took up the *lis*, and this was prepared, purified, dipped in the bowl of water, and waved towards the god with the prayer. Then the priest took up an offering-cover (*saab*) of *lontar* palm and wafted the essence of the *soetji* and *pendètan* offerings toward Betara Gangga, praying:

[15] Sanskrit edited and translated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.

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Wong roewa soetji roewa soetji
Saroea kemo kara tisea
Jetija jadian dija misandi
Saroea manian para soetji.

This was followed by the offering of the *tjaratan*, symbolizing the washing of the gods' hands after eating, with the formula:

Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

and the pouring out of palm-wine and rice-wine, with the prayer:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara katoeran Padoeka
Betara sarining sadjeng sari (berem),
Sadjeng djamboel (toeak) moeang sadjeng
rateng (arak).
Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

The priest and his assistants lifted their hands to their foreheads three times, in a reverence to Betara Gangga. (*mepamit* — asking permission to depart.)

The water which they had brought was then poured through the spout of the shrine, to fill the bowl and the drinking-vessel.

Turning about now — for all this time they had had their backs to them — the priest and his assistants faced the gods still held upon the heads of their bearers. Lifting first one and then the other of the *bebaktan*, the priest wafted their essence towards the gods, and again they raised their hands in reverence, this time to the gods of Nagasari.

This was an occasion on which it was not at all clear that the little figures were being given a symbolic bath and toilet, for the priest performed the ceremony in such a way that all the attentions and perquisites seemed to be offered to Betara Gangga, God of Water.

Now the procession of the gods, with all their regalia, wound its way back across the fields to the temple, again accompanied by singing and music. Arrived at the temple, they did not enter the gates, but stopped in the space without (*djaban poera*) for a ceremony known as *pemendak*, the reception of the gods.

Dance of reception (Méndèt, pemendak)

Married women and girls who had taken part in the procession gathered at one end of the open space, to dance before the gods the *méndèt*, bearing the offerings and regalia. They were dressed not in the stylized costumes of professional dancers, but in the formal temple dress, bound from breast to hips in a tight band of brocade, their breasts covered with a scarf, their hair arranged in a formal coiffure with many flowers, and their skirts drawn down to pass between their ankles in a long trailing train, displaying the brilliant color of the underskirt as lining.

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*796 [535] [782] They danced in pairs, the first two carrying the brazier and the *tjanang rébong* in their right hands, their left arms slowly lifted and extended in the traditional figurations. They advanced, circling and passing each other, until they reached the feet of the gods standing there, and the priest gently wafted the essence of their gifts towards them. Then another pair advanced, and another, dancing with the water-bowl and jar (*penastan, tjaratan*), with an offering of rice and one of meat (*rajoenan, oelam*), with an offering of cake and one of betel (*sanganan, tjanang*), and finally with the palm-wine and rice-wine mixed with *arak*.

[776] The offering of such a series is called *taboeh*, in regard to the dancing and the music — one piece, one playing. This, the priest said, was to the gods of Nagasari, male and female. When it was done, the women began to dance again, bearing the same regalia but a new set of offerings, this time for the *gendaroewa* in the *Panggoengan* (temporary shrine). This second *taboeh* was a different dancing figure, corresponding to a different melody played by the *gamelan*.

Reception of the gods (Pemendak)

*796 793 782 [778] 8:00 p. m. With the gods still held upon the heads of their bearers, the offerings and instruments again set down upon the mat before them, the priest seated himself and went through once more the dedication of himself, of his bell, and the sprinkling of the offerings with the water just fetched from the "spring." With this he uttered the prayer noted above (page 24). He continued:

[539]

Balinese Version

Wong djang dji goeda ja nama
Wong tjang tjemana ja nama
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

Sanskrit[16]

oṃ śaṃ[17] *jīvaśuddhāya namaḥ*
oṃ śaṃ śamanīya namaḥ
oṃ śreyo bhavatu
oṃ sukhaṃ bhavatu[18]

English

Om, blessing homage to him who lives purely[19]
Om, blessing, O thou who art to be appeased, obeisance.
Om, may there be prosperity,
Om, may there be happiness.

[16] Sanskrit edited, translated and annotated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.
[17] By emendation. The Balinese version *djang* would probably represent Sanskrit *yaṃ*.
[18] This line substituted for "*oṃ ... śivagrīdya namaḥ*", translated "Om, ... homage to him of the beneficent neck (Śiva, or: to Śiva's neck).
[19] i. e., Śiva.

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These three lines accompanied the offering of the bowl and the water-jar. They should be used every time the water-vessels are offered.

Then he intoned:

Pukoeloen Padoeka Betara Sakti Nagasari, kènak Padoeka Betara, titiang ngatoerang sarining asep menjan madjagaoe tjenana, kepéndak déning Betara Sami, moeang widiadara widiadari.

Lord Holy Gods of Nagasari, be pleased Lord Gods, I offer you the essence of smoke of incense, *madjagaoe*, and sandalwood, may it be received by all the gods and by the *widiadara* and the *widiadari*,

as he wafted the smoke of the brazier towards them. This is the invitation to the *widiadara* and *widiadari* to descend.

Asking pardon (*Ngaksama*)

After this he "begged their pardon" (*nawegang*) with the *sloka* wafted with a flower:

Wong sama samoewem mahadéwa, sarwa perani winta karem, mamontjah sarwa papébioh, pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva), O benefactor of all living beings! Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada-Śiva! (see page 30)

He sprinkled water from the toilet-tray, repeating the formula given above with the bowl and water-jar. This he said was offering the toilet-tray and the wardrobe. Then he prayed:

Lord Gods, King Lord Holy Gods, be pleased Lord Gods to partake of the essence of the *pemendak* offerings, together with the *widiadari-widiadara*.

Wong joesratoe ja nama soewaha.

This accompanied the wafting of the *péndètan* or *pemendak* offerings, consisting of two sets, containing cakes, rice, peanuts, and *tjanangs genten*, *tjanang gantal*, and *tjanang rébong*. The libation of *arak beren*, and *toeak* followed, with the repetition of the appropriate prayer. (page 39)

Invitation to the nymphs (*Noentoen gegaloeh*)

Now the priest called for the *gegaloeh*, the little figures of palm-leaf prepared in the morning, to be brought out as representatives of the *widiadara-widiadari*. They were fetched from within the temple, and around their bodies was wrapped a long skein of red, white, and black thread (*benang seridatoe*) to which was attached a string of 1,000 *képèngs* (Chinese cash). The two little girls who carried the *gegaloehs*, aged 8 and 9 years, were in this way bound together by the skein of thread. This pattern is one which we have observed in other districts (Iseh, Selat) not associated with *gegaloeh*, but called *penoentoen* (*noentoen*, escort). And at cremations, the thread tied to the spear set in a coconut which leads the procession is also called *penoentoen* (Bedoeloe, Nèstanan). Here

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*796 793 782 [539] the priest said that the thread and the money formed as it were the bridge over which the gods could pass, followed by the *widiadari-widiadara*, and the *gendaroewa*, on their way into the temple court: "*Pinaka titin Ida Betara keiring baan widiadara-widiadari moeang gendaroewa, patjang loenga ke djeroan.*" He said also that the tying up of the *gegaloeh*, and the calling of the *widiadari-widiadara* to be seated in the *gegaloeh*, were covered by the term *noentoen gegaloeh*.[20]

Ground offering (Segeh agoeng)

*796 776 787 793 Now, while the figures of the gods and the *gegaloehs* stood by, it was in order to make the special offering to the demons, the *segeh agoeng*. On a mat spread before the *Panggoengan*, the high temporary shrine set up outside the gate, were the *sesantoen* offerings, a chopping block, a large knife, a coconut scraper and a live young chicken. The priest told us at the time that this offering was for "the *gendaroewa*, the subjects of the God of the Goenoeng Agoeng" — the very same for whom the *Panggoengan* shrine is set up. But the prayer which he utters at the time names more specific demons, of the *kala-boeta* class, who receive their offerings invariably upon the ground, not placed up in the *Panggoengan* as do the *gendaroewa*.[20a]

The ritual consisted in the breaking open of the coconut with the big knife, removing the coconut meat, grating it fine; chopping upon the block mixed spices (*basa-basa*), and stirring these together with the coconut. Then the priest took up the little chicken, sprinkled it, and wrung its neck. A bit of the blood which flowed he mixed with the coconut and spices to complete the *lawar*. This he scattered on the ground, together with a handful of uncooked rice. His prayer ran:

[539] *Ih Kaki Jama Radja, Kaki Jang Meradja, Kaki Banaspati Radja, oendoerang sewadoewan nira kabeh, I Boeta Kekawa, I Boeta Ari-ari, I Boeta Seliwah, iki tadah sadjin nira.*

[20] In certain districts the term *noentoen* is used for the "smoking" of people over the brazier to bring them into trance. (N. Bali) But here the *gegaloehs* are not smoked, nor have we ever seen a ritual performed with them suggesting the remains of such a rite.

[20a] The name of these last is derived from the Sanskrit *gandharva*. Dowson, in his Hindu Classical Dictionary, includes the following pertinent information: "The Gandharvas generally had their dwelling in the sky or atmosphere, and one of their offices was to prepare the heavenly soma juice for the gods. They had a great partiality for women, and had a mystic power over them. The Atharva-veda speaks of 'the 6333 Gandharvas.' The Gandharvas of later times are similar in character; they have charge of the soma, are skilled in medecine, regulate the asterisms, and are fond of women. Those of Indra's heaven are generally intended by the term, and they are singers and musicians who attend the banquets of the gods." (pp. 105—106.) Also, under Loka, "The Sānkhya and Vedānta schools of philosophy recognize eight lokas or regions of material existence", among them, "Gandharvaloka, of heavenly spirits." (p. 179—180.)

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O Grandfather Jama Radja, Grandfather Jang Meradja, Grandfather Banaspati Radja, I am offering to all your many subjects, Mr. Demon Spider, Mr. Demon Afterbirth, Mr. Demon Seliwah, Here is the food for you.

He ended with the libation of palm-wine and rice-wine, and *arak*, with the usual formula, and

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

(The offering of *seyeh agoeng* is one very often called for and administered to people in trance, when they have been entered by a demon.)

Circumambulation of the outer shrine (Ngilehin Panggoengan)

Now a procession formed, a single file — the bearers of the gods, the ceremonial parasols and spears, the regalia, and the *gegaloeh* bound together with the skein of thread. The women sang as this procession slowly circled three times around the *Panggoengan*, clockwise, or, as the Balinese put it, "going to the right." Thence the procession passed through the temple gate and into the inner court.

Cleansing of evil (Bia kaonan)

There, standing in the center of the court, the gods were put through one final purification rite before they might "be seated." This was the *bia kaonan*, and is in its essentials the very same as that performed upon a bride and bridegroom at their *mesakapan*. Their nails are dabbed with chicken blood, the nails of the hands and of the feet, then scraped with a bamboo blade, and brushed with a little brush of coconut husk. An egg is rolled upon their bodies, and a lighted torch of dry palm fronds waved about their feet, to smoke them. These attentions are followed with the three purifying substances, *tepoeng tawar*, *sesarik*, and *teteboes*. A brush of palm-leaf (*peboeoe*) is used to sprinkle them. For the gods, these ministrations are merely symbolic — the priest does not actually touch the little figures with the substances, but takes up one after the other and gestures in the air with them, facing the gods. In fact, he has no evidence that the ministrations are intended for the gods, for although he begins by offering them the toilet-tray, saying

Wong Padoeka Betara, katoeran Padoeka Betara pengersikan

he has no formulae to repeat while this part of the ritual is carried out. The acts he refers to simply thus: "The gods are dabbed with chicken blood" (*Ida betara tjolekina getih siap*).

When he is dedicating the *sesorohan* offerings,[21] he says:

Pakoeloen Sang Boeta Kala Mertijoe, Sang Boeta Kala Ngadang, Sang Boeta Kala Tjengkingan, Sang Boeta Kala Ngintip, Sang Boeta Kala Ngélo, Sang Boeta

[21] *sesorohan — toempeng 3, koelit sesajoet, toeloeng, penjeneng, peras.*

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Kala Mantjawarna, iki tadah sadjin nira, sira soengan amangan anginoem, amatah rateng, adjak serowang sesanak.

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

In this prayer he calls upon six demons by name, telling them, "Here is your food, finish it up, eating and drinking, the raw and the cooked, together with all your subjects and children."

It is significant that all the necessaries for this rite are placed upon the ground, as if indeed only the *kalas* were concerned. But then why do the gods attend? It would be possible to interpret the rite in a mystical manner, suggesting that the gods are cleansed of evil (*kaon*) which is in them in the person of the *kala*, each god being made up, as man is, of an evil and a good part. But neither the priest nor any of our friends in the village ventured any explanation whatsoever. Indeed they speak most cheerfully of the gods' having their nails scraped, brushed, etc., for since these things are done to people, they see no reason why the gods should not require them too.

Seating the gods on central shrine (Melinggih)

The giving of the *bia kaonan* offerings was finished off, as usual, with *tetaboeh*, libation.

(*Asking pardon-Ngaksama*)

Now the priest chanted the following *sloka*:

Balinese Version

Wong sama samoewem mahadéwa
Sarwa perani winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papebioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Poepoeh wem, papat kem,
Mahem papat, sembah hem,
Terehinem sarwa papébioh,
Inantjit mamarep satoe.

Sata joewa kawika dosa (or, *kawi kadosa*)
Sata joewa kawika mama (or, *kawi kemama*)
Sata joewa kawi dosa
Tat peramana sama samoewem.

Sanskrit[22]

oṃ kṣamasva māṃ mahādeva
sarvaprāṇihitaṃkara
māṃ moca sarvapāpebhyaḥ
pālayasva sadāśiva

[22] Sanskrit edited and translated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.

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pāpo 'haṃ pāpakarmā 'haṃ
pāpātmā pāpasaṃbhavaḥ
trāhi māṃ sarvapāpebhyaḥ
kenacid mama rakṣatu

kṣantavyāḥ kāyikā doṣāḥ
kṣantavyā vācikā mama
kṣantavyā mānasā doṣāḥ
tat pramādaṃ kṣamasva mām

English

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva), O benefactor of all living beings!
Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada-Śiva!

I am an evil man, I am an evil-doer, of an evil soul,
sprung from evil (or: a source of evil).
Rescue me from all evils! By any means let him protect me!

May my sins in my body be forgiven, may my sins in speech be forgiven,
May my sins in mind be forgiven! My negligence, then, pardon!

The essence of these verses he wafted towards the gods with a flower — and the gods "were seated." They were replaced upon the central shrine, the *Pepelik*, to sit in state viewing the proceedings. Their followers, the *gegaloeh*, did not sit with them, but were placed in a different building, the *Pengaroeman*. This would be the polite and fitting procedure if they were people accompanied by attendants of lesser standing.

Orchestra players' feast (Sekaha gong ketegakan)

9:40 p. m. It was now twenty minutes to ten, and the ritual which we have been describing had been going on without a break since the gods were taken down from this shrine to go to the bath, more than two hours before. A slight pause was welcome. During the period which followed, the members of the orchestra were given a feast, at the expense of the *bandjar*, to recompense them for playing.

Now for a time the members had not[h] g much to do, for the priest had a long ritual of prayers to get through before their assistance would again be needed. They were free to wander about outside the temple, sampling the wares of the pretty vendors, gossiping, perhaps taking a turn at one of the gambling tables. Or, if they were too dressed up to move freely, as were the *méndèt* dancers, they sat about on the various *balés* in the temple, chatting, rearranging their hair and their scarves, until it should be time for them to dance again. But no one could go home, for they were expected to stay through the night at the temple, doing full honor to the gods.

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Invocation of the gods from five directions (Ngeredana)

*796 About eleven o'clock, a bamboo platform or couch (*pelangkan*) was brought out and set down in the center of the court facing the shrine where the gods sat. Upon this the women spread the offerings for [782] *ngeredana*, the usual *soetji* set, and the brazier and water-vessels, aug- [778] mented this time with a large clay pot (*pajoek pengeloekatan*), a dipper made from a fresh coconut, the meat still lining it, with a handle of the sacred *dadap* wood, still green (*siboeh pepek*), and a rice-steaming funnel of basketry (*koeskoesan*).

*796 793 11:15 p. m. The priest took his place on the couch facing the *Pepelik* (central shrine) among the offerings, and began to pray, while a group of women gathered around him singing (*mekidoeng*). He began by dedica- [778] ting himself, his bell, and the offerings by sprinkling them with a flower, intoning the usual prayers (page 24). Then he repeated the formula for *tetangi* (page 29) waking or asking the gods to stand, through the medium of the smoke of the brazier, and continued thus:

*796 793 539 785 *Pakoeloen mangkin manoesan Ida, angatoerin Padoeka Betara toemoeroen, makapangoendang Betara Jang Dèwa Gana malingga maring koekoes menjan madjagaoe tjenana, pangoendang para Betara ring Mertja pada, toemoeli tedoen Betara ring Kajangan, pada iniring dèning dèwa sanaka poetoe, moeang watek Gendarocwa widiadari widiadara, mangètan ring pasamoewan.*

Teka ring dèsa poerwa, malingga Ida ring patarana selaka, mapoepoel ring pasamoewan, moeang widiadari widiadara.

Raoeh Ida ring dèsa daksina, malingga Ida ring patarana tembaga, mapoepoel Ida ring pasamoewan.

Raoeh Ida ring dèsa pantjima, malingga Ida ring patarana kentjana, mapoepoel Ida ring pasamoewan.

Raoeh Ida ring dèsa lor, malinggih Ida ring patarana wesi, mapoepoel ring pasamoewan, moeang widiadari widiadara.

Iring tenguh raoeh Ida Goeroe Dèwa, ring Kajangan Sakti, malinggih Ida ring patarana emas, ratna amantjawarna, pada iniring dèning watek nata dèwata, moeang widiadari widiadara. Pada katoeran Ida dèning manoesa, moeang pada amoekti banten, soemirit sarwa soetji, ring Kajangan Sakti.

And when they have reached the village at the south (*Dèsa Daksina*), let them be seated on the copper seat, gathered on the meeting-place.

And when they have come to the village at the west, (*Dèsa Pantjima*), let them be seated on the seat of gold, gathered on the meeting-place.

And when they have reached the village at the north (*Dèsa Lor*), let them be seated on the seat of iron, gathered on the meeting-place, together with the *widiadari* and *widiadara*.

And when they have reached the center, Ida Goeroe Dèwa, in the Holy Temple, let them be seated on the seat of gold studded with precious stones of all colors, followed by the hordes of all the minor deities (*dèwata*), and the *widiadari* and *widiadara*. To all of them offerings are given by the people, and all receive their share of the offerings, sufficient and of various kinds, in the Holy Temple.

[796] All the gods are invited to earth (*mertja pada*); straightway to descend to this temple (*Kajangan*), all together, followed by the minor deities their children and

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grandchildren, and the hordes of *gandarowa*, *widiadari* and *widiadara*, all to be gathered in the east on the meeting-place (*pesamoewan* — the *Pepelih*).
And when they have come to the village at the east (*Désa Poerwa*), let them be seated on a seat of silver, gathered on the meeting-place, together with the *widiadari* and *widiadara*.

This long prayer the priest intoned to the accompaniment of his bell, which he rang steadily throughout the "invitation." He followed it with the rather clumsy execution of a few *mudras* (*moedras*), the intricate language of hand gestures inherited from the Hindus, of whose meaning he has not the least idea. He calls this not *memoedra* but *medjaja-djaja*.

Then, holding in his hand a rolled up leaf and flower (*kalpika*), he sang the *sloka*:

Wong sama samoewem Mahadéwa
Sarwa perani winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papébioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Om. Pardon me, Great God, who is merciful to all living!
Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada Siwa! (see pages 30, 41, 44, 45)

He offered the water-bowl and jar with the formula:

Wong djang dji goeda ja nama
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

Om, blessing homage to him who lives purely
Om, may there be prosperity, may there be happiness.
(see pages 39 and 26)

Making holy water (*Mekarja tirta*)

Now followed the making of holy water, begged from all the gods who had just been called, and from the demons, using the same prayers as those for the making of holy water preceding the *metjaroe* (pages 22–23). But he added, this time, a piece in a different rhythm (*saroeti*) of whose meaning again he had no idea:

Wong Gangga Sindoe Sarasoewati, goewawa ring darma wenadi, sarwa bala soemahenda, kana kama soewatang wenaka, nederang desti nendakijem, poernijem poerna djanlé soewati, nemangalem darpa dedéwi, poernem dara nior mamoernem, namato dia wisoewajem, déwi ko déwi kadjatijem, Siwa merta amastoeté, kaderanijani djata késé.
Ari doewété nama nama, menadi atoer najajem, déwa déwi dija ganem, meroe peredakzina rieh, poerwa to gana mamoenem, sama kelesa winasajem, sarwa moentjar dadi berasa, soeraksaja nama lemamah.

Then spoken:

Atoera kelesa winasajem asoewantjana nama namah.

The holy water, thus made, was of two kinds, the *pengeloekatan* in the clay pot, and the *pebersihan*, in the bowl. The priest sprinkled the offer-

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The Priest Sprinkled The offer-

*796 793 [782] 778 ings first with the one sort, then with the other. Then he wafted the essence of them "to all the gods, together with the *gendaroewa*, and the *widiadara-widiadari*."

Symbolic sweeping (Melis)

*796 [793] The assistants now took up the *lis*, and the priest prepared it with the usual ritual and prayers (see page 26). From the clay pot he dipped water with the coconut dipper (*siboeh pepek*) and poured it through the basket steamer (*koeskoesan*). A little group of assistants set out to visit in turn [794] each one of the shrines in the temple, to purify them by the use of this [783] *siboeh pepek*, *koeskoesan*, the *lis*, the three purifying substances, *tepoeng tawar*, *sesarik* and *teteboes*, and the *tirta pebersihan* in the bowl. They sprinkled, spilled, and waved the *lis* at each shrine, beginning with Soerja's, and ending with the *Panggoengan* outside the gate, and the two shrines on either side of the gate *Pengapit Lawang*. The meaning of this rite is thoroughly to purify the "seats" of the gods, for they are now to be asked to leave the common meeting-place in the central shrine (*Pepelik*) and to take each his place in his appointed shrine, so that the refreshments (*soetji*) may be served to them.

Seating the gods each in his shrine (Melinggih)

*796 782 793 The priest asked the gods to be seated by singing the three *sloka* noted before (page 44) with the addition of this one:

Balinese Version

[539]

Ina arep ina padem
Ina mantera tan tewantja
Ina bakti ina widi
Sada siwa namastoesté.

Sanskrit

hīnākṣaro hīnapado hīnamantras tathaiva ca
hīnabhaktir hīnavidhiḥ sadāśiva namo 'stu te.

English

(Though I am) lacking in syllables, lacking in words,
And also lacking in sacred formulae,
Lacking in devotion (*bhakti*), lacking in ceremonial,
O Sada-Śiva, homage to thee!

[534] [202] The *koel-koel* (slit-gong) was now beaten loudly to call the gods to the feast.

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Méndèt (or *gabor*), dance with offerings. Note the *gegaloeh* puppet in the waistband.

[opp. p. 48]

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Giving the feast offerings (Ngatoerang piodalan)

Beginning with the offering of the water-jar, with the formula:

Wong djang dji soeda ja nama
Wong tjang tjemana ja nama
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.
(see page 40)

the priest prepared to dedicate the *banten piodalan*, the *pièce de resistance* of the feast. He himself had not moved from his place on the couch facing the central shrine, neither had the figures of the gods been changed, although they were supposed to be now sitting elsewhere. He offered the set of *soetji*, one for each shrine and the two *Panggoengans*, with the following *sloka*:

Wong roewa soetji roewa soetji
Sarwa kema karatiwa
Itija jedijan dia misandi
Sarwa jabijan tara soetji.

Then the "eating of food" (*angarang wali ajoenan*), as the *lontar* puts it, although these terms are unfamiliar to the offering-makers, was accompanied with this *sloka*:

Déwa boekti maha soengkem
Boedjanem para mekeratem
Déwa boektijem maha toestem
Bokterelakseana ja nama soewaha.

The priest sprinkled the offerings, wafted their essence, and poured the libations (*tetaboeh*). Now the gods had been served, he continued, without leaving his place, to dedicate the special offerings of roast pig (*goeling bebangkit*) and all that goes with it in the two *Panggoengans*, for the followers of the God of Nagasari, and the followers of the God of the Goenoeng Agoeng. It must be said that these followers receive a bigger share of the feast than the gods themselves. These are the offerings prepared for the gods: *soetji, djapit, pengangkat, penjemek, sesajoet pegojan, sesajoet agoeng, pengoelapan pengamběan.*[23] The *gendaroewa* have placed for them in their *panggoengans* each a full set of the offerings that the gods receive, plus: *goeling bebangkit, peregémbal, peregémbal tegteg, banten pané, banten ngioe.* The priest says that the *gendaroewa* must get more, because there are so many of them.

Here is the prayer he uttered:

Pakoeloen Betari Doerga, Jama Radja, Sang Boesana Sapoesah pati, Sang Détija Sangin, Sang Raksasa Sawil, Sang Kala Karoeng, Sang Kala Kantoeng, Sang Kala Agoeng, Sang Kala Saboemi, Sang Kala Pedjagalan, Sang Kala Aoe, menadi ja nama soewaha.

[23] For a description of offerings, see page 17 ff.

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PLATE VI

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Légong, a classical dance offered as part of the celebration

[opp. p. 49]

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*796 At the head of the list of twelve *gendaroewa* he puts Betari Doerga. She, who is honored as the goddess in many a *Poera Dalem*, here is classed with the demonic hordes because, the priest says, she is the teacher of the *kalas*. "*Betari doerga, goeroen kala.*"

[796] [782] He ended with pouring the libations, to the north, for the gods, to the east, for the *gendaroewa* honored in the *Panggoegnan* within the temple, and to the south, for those honored in the *Panggoengan* without.

Calling down the demons, followers of Pasoepati (Pegenen)

*796 793 782 796 539 Now another offering of unusual composition was brought out by the women, and placed on the ground, north of the *Pepelik*, before the shrine of Soerja (Sun). This was the *pegenen*, and comprised an iron frying-pan (*pengorengan*) containing six eggs, a coconut grater (*kikian*), *peras sesantoen* containing 9 small skewers of meat (*kètèngan*), and 66 *képèngs*. The whole lot were placed on a bamboo frame as base (*kelatkat*). The priest, still seated on his couch, prayed from a distance while the women stirred the eggs in the frying pan — without, however, breaking them. This curious rite is called in the *lontar* "*nedoenang sahingon-hingon Betara Pasoepati*" (to call down the followers of Pasoepati) whom the priest identifies with Soerja. Intoning in the meter *saa* (*sesontèng*), the priest prayed:

Pakoeloen mangkin toemoeroen sahingon-hingon Padoeka Betara Pasoepati, Boeta Banaspati Radja, Boeta Nawasanga, Boeta Enèngan, Boeta Adoe Ada, sarwa Boeta Boeta kabèh, pada toemoeroena sira angèlingin loenggoeh, ajoewa sira anjarengin atji atjining Betara, iki pesangoewan kita, boektinen, getih salimas, moeah segeh sokan, pagèan (pegenen) Nawasanga, sekoel apangkon, iwaka karangan, sudjeng badèg berem moeah arak, adjak saroewangé sesanaké, amangan anginoem, woes amangan anginoem maloearang kita kabèh, moelih kita mangètan ring Betara Isoewara, moelih kita mangidoel, ring Betara Brahma, moelih kita mangoelon, maring Betara Mahadéwa, moelih kita mangelor, maring Betara Wisnoe, moelih kita maring madia, mantoek sira ring Betara Siwa.

Wong sidiastoe sinastoe.

In this prayer he calls four of the chief demons by name, and continues:

And together with the numerous demons of all kinds, may you all together come down, remembering your seats, don't come and mix up with the offerings for the gods, here is your food, go on and eat it (it is given to you), a cocoshell full of blood, and a big *segeh*, *pegenen* in nine directions, meat in five directions, a leaf-cup of rice-wine and *arak*, together with all your followers and children, eat and drink, and when you have eaten and drunk, go away, all of you; those who go home to the east, go to Betara Isoewara, those who go home to the south, to Betara Brahma, those who go home to the west, to Betara Mahadéwa, those who go home to the north, to Betara Wisnoe, those who go home to the center (politely) return to Betara Siwa!

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The end of this rite was the priest's placing on the ground beside him a *tjanang* for the demons. He calls this *ngelocarang tjanang*, to send away the *tjanang*. Possibly it symbolizes the sending away of the demons.

Entire membership makes reverence (Watek krama mebakti)

Now the priest made a reverence (*mebakti*) to the gods. Then he called all the members of the *bandjar* present to *mebakti*. In theory a member should be present from each of the 105 households — a single member of a household represents the entire family. In reality only about 50 responded, and this was considered sufficient. Some of the women and girls who had been sitting waiting upon the *balés* plucked a bit of the thatch from the roof and rubbed it between their hands in symbolic cleaning before they knelt to make the reverence and to receive the holy water. As they lifted their hands to their foreheads in the first obeisance to the Sun the priest sang the *sloka*:

To the Sun (*ke Soerja*):

Balinese Version

Aditija soewa para djoti
Rakta tedja nama toesti
Soeweta pangken dja madiasti
Baska mara ja nama soewaha.

Sanskrit[24]

oṃ ādityasya paraṃ jyoti
raktatejo namo 'stu te
śvetaḥ pañkajamadhyas te
bhāskarāya namo namaḥ

English

Om, Supreme Light of the Sun,
O thou of red brilliance, let obeisance be to thee!
Your lotus-middle is white.[25]
Obeisance, obeisance, Thou Maker of Light!

He offered the water-jar with the formula:

Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

The second obeisance was made to Iboe (in the *gedong*), and accompanied by the *sloka*:

To the gods of origin (*ke Iboe*):

Wong parama Siwa ratoe jem
Siwa tatoewa para jana
Tjandi saja namastoeti
. . . . . .

[24] Sanskrit edited, translated and annotated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.
[25] *Pañkaja*, literally "mud-born," refers to the lotus blossom, which opens in the light of day and closes at night.

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And the third time, the *bandjar* members make the reverence to Betara Nagasari (also in the *gedong*) with this *sloka*:

To the gods of the temple (*ke Betara Nagasari*):

Balinese Version

Wong kerija ina bakti
Kerija maha soewarem
Tatpoedji namah dèwem
Pari poerna tedas namé.

Sanskrit[26]

om mantrahînah kriyâhîno
bhaktihîno maheśvara
yat pûjitaṃ mayâ deva
paripûrṇam tad astu me

English[27]

Om. (Though I am) lacking in prayers, lacking in religious acts,
Lacking in devotion, O Maheśvara[28],
(However lacking in all things) what is offered by me, O God,
May you reckon as complete.[29]

Members receive holy water (Ngeloekat)

Now each member was sprinkled with *tirta pengeloekatan*, then sprinkled with *toja pengelangsoehan*, the *banjoen tjokor*, "washing-water of the gods" (see pages 31, 35). Into their cupped hands a little of this last water was poured out three times, for them to drink, to rub over their faces, and their hair.

Refreshments with dancing (Méndèt; gabor)

*796 ooo

12:00 p. m. It was midnight and the order of the ritual had reached such a point that the entertainment of the gods might begin. This was

[26] Sanskrit edited by Dr. Andrew Yarrow

[27] Translation by Dr. Andrew Yarrow (first two lines) and Dr. R. Goris (last two lines.

[28] Śiva, lit., Great God.

[29] Dr. Yarrow suggests that an alternative (and in his opinion, less probable) translation of these lines is:

What is revered by me, O God,
May I obtain that completely.

Actually the difference hangs on the word *poedji*, or *puji*. We are reminded that, according to the Abbé Dubois, the word *Pûjâ* in Southern India referred to the whole sequence offered to the god, from the invocation, the reception, the invitation to be seated, the washing of the feet, the bath, the offering of clothing and perfume, of food and betel. In Bali, the sequence is almost identical. "Worship," or a series of devotional attentions, may be referred to.

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to take the form first of dancing (*méndèt; gabor*), with the offerings and regalia, then of various contests (*miasa; mebiasa*) for the gods' diversion.

Ten sets of *banten péndètan* offerings had been prepared to be offered with dancing. The *gamelan* began to play the *gabor* music, and the women and girls danced out from a corner of the temple court, in pairs, each bearing a smoking brazier, a water-vessel, or an offering. They circled and passed each other, approaching and avoiding, their shoulders stiff, their arms extended in slow graceful evolutions, wiggling their hips in the tight binding, and tossing their trains between their ankles with an adept turn of the foot. Many of the people who had been loitering without now came into the court to watch this offering of dancing. The dancers wove in and out across the court, and came to rest, two by two, before the shrine of Soerja. When the first set had danced, the priest joined them, and wafted the essence of their offerings, held high in their two hands, towards the God of the Sun.

The first *taboeh* (see page 49) was danced and offered to Betara Soerja. Then they began to dance again, with a fresh set of offerings, this time wafted towards the same shrine, but dedicated to Betara Siwa. The third and the fourth *taboehs* were in honor of the Goenoeng Agoeng (Mountain), and the Goenoeng Batoer (Mountain), at their shrine; then to the gods of Nagasari. The sixth set was danced as usual, but when it was over the priest and the dancers did not approach any of the shrines — they crouched upon the ground in the center of the court, offering to Saptapetala (Pertiwi, Goddess of Earth).

It is possible, and often done, to dance a *taboeh* to each of the shrines in the temple individually. But on this evening the people had decided to honor the lesser gods in a bunch, and so they danced one *taboeh* to be offered to *betara sami* (all the gods — here including Ramboet Sedana, Brahma, Sedahan Pengenter, Ramboet Sawi, Tengaan Segara in the *Mendjangan Seloeang* shrine, and Ratoe Ngeroerah, who have shrines in the temple court, and the two *Pengapit Lawang* whose shrines stand without the gate).

The eighth *taboeh* danced was offered at the *Pengaroeman* in honor of the *widiadara-widiadari* who were seated there in the persons of the *gegaloeh*. Neither were the *gendaroewa* forgotten, for the last two dance figures were offered to the *Panggoengan* inside the court, and to the one outside. The priest led the dancers in a line out through the gate, that they might waft their gifts towards the demons seated without. When they had sprinkled and spilled from their containers, the holy water in the bowl was poured out upon the ground.

As a recompense for their dancing, the women and girls now received the "remains" (*loengsoeran*) of the *péndètan* offerings, rice, peanuts, and cakes, which they ate. No other payment was made to them.

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Contests (Miasa; mebiasa)

*796 1:30 a.m. Now came the contests, for, the priest afterwards explained, the gods delight to watch any sort of combat (*mepaloe*) just as they enjoy a cockfight. Set before the central shrine (*Pepelik*) was a bamboo couch, flanked by two ceremonial parasols and two spears, their long shafts stuck into the ground. On the couch were laid the various objects for the fray, drawn up in two opposing lines, *kadja* and *kelod* (inland and towards the sea). On each side was an egg, a coconut, a skein of thread, a ring of coins bound together to form a shape like a collar (*pipis djan*). On the *kadja* side were ranged as well the *tjaratan* (water-jar) and the bottle of *arak*, while on the *kelod* side were the smoking *pasepan* (brazier), the bowl of holy water (*penastan*), and the bottle of rice-wine. In the center of the couch was a space, left clear, for the battleground.

The first encounter was not particularly spirited. A young women took up the drinking-vessel from the *kadja* side, and another young woman the brazier from the *kelod* side. They danced a few steps circling the couch, passed each other, then spilled from the jar and wafted the smoke, and returned the objects to the couch. Now Rawi danced again with the water-jar, and Teer with the bowl. Again they sprinkled and spilled, and replaced the objects. But in the third joust there was more action. The two women took up each an egg, danced about and passed each other; then, facing each other across the couch, they rolled the eggs towards each other, knocking them together. Now Rawi's egg was placed on the *kelod* side and Teer's on the *kadja*, having exchanged places. They followed this with a similar match, coconut against coconut, again exchanging the places when they had been knocked together. Rawi then pitted her skein of black thread against Teer's white thread, with a similar outcome. The ring of money joined battle against the other ring, and they changed places. Finally the *arak*-bottle challenged the bottle of rice-wine, and, [182] not forgetting to spill a libation from each, the women replaced them on the opposite sides from where they had stood.[30]

Now, as a climax, the dancers took up the two parasols, which were implanted east and west. They danced past each other, crossing the shafts, and planted them on opposite sides. Finally, they lifted the two spears, crossed them, and set them in exchanged places.

(The last two encounters are the ones most commonly executed in other districts under the name of *miasa* or *mebiasa*. Usually the dancing is by men, very often in trance.)

The priest introduced the contests with this prayer:

[539] [184] *Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Sami, titiang ngatoerang sarining bebanten, koekoes aroem, boerat wangi, lenga wangi, moeang kala-kalaan.*

Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

[541] [30] Part of this ritual often precedes the cockfights.

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He said that the term *kala-kalaan* refers to the contests. His explanation was, "If anyone has been entered by a *kala*, is he not angry? And if they are angry, there is a combat, they quarrel. That is *kala-kalaan*" (*Jen sampoen anak ngerangsoekin kala, ten pedih? Jen sampoen pedih, mepaloe, mijegan raris. Nika sampoen kala-kalaan.*)

Dancing of the nymphs (Ngèèd)

At this *odalan*, the rite called *ngèèd* or *nedoenang gegaloeh* followed the *mebiasa*, but at many others we have seen the corresponding rite precede it. The priest's *lontar* also gives *ngèèd* preceding *mebiasa*.

The two little *gegaloehs* were brought down now from the *pengaroeman* shrine, carried in the arms of young girls (about 12 years old, pre-adolescent). The priest seated himself upon the couch, and around him were ranged offerings of one *péndètan* set, *wewangi* (water mixed with sandalwood), and *tjanangs* containing perfumed ointment and perfumed oil (*boerat wangi, lenga wangi*).

The priest prayed to Betara Siwa, saying:

Pakoeloen mangkin Padoeka Betara Siwa, kénak Padoeka Betara sepian padoeka Betara angatoerang perekénak, moeang widiadara widiadari, moeang gendaroewa, mangkin patjang katoeran boedal. Mangkin titiang ngatoerang sarining wewangi kadoeloeran adjoeman péndètan.

Lord now Lord God Siwa, be pleased Lord God, your servant offers you entertainment (*perekénak*), and to the *widiadari* and *widiadara*, and the *gendaroewa*, because now you are about to be asked to go home. Now I offer you the essence of *wewangi* and *péndètan* food.

Then he offered the water-vessel, with its formula.

Now a line of dancers formed, to dance round the couch upon which the offerings lay. The little girls carrying the *gegaloehs* brought up the rear. They danced around counter-clockwise (or going to the left — as is appropriate in sending away the gods). As they danced the priest prayed:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara titiang ngatoerang sarining boerat wangi, lenga wangi.

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

The priest said, when we asked him to whom the *wewangi* was offered, "If there is no one in trance, *wewangi* is offered to the *widiadari-widiadara*, the *gegaloehs* as their *tapakan*, because their bodies are small" (*Jen ten wenten anak keraoehan, wewangi nika katoer ring widiadari widiadara, gegaloeh tapakné, déning Ida meraga alit.*)

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Ground offering (Mesegeh)

When the dancers had three times encircled the couch, they went in procession out through the gate, accompanied by the priest, who sat down facing the *Panggoengan*. There he offered a *segehan*[31] on the ground.

"Going to Market" offering (Meperani)

Now the priest called "the *bandjar*" to bring out the special *perani* offerings, one from each household. The fine for not having brought one was ten *képèngs*. The priest sat facing south, towards the *Panggoengan*, and around him, forming a great circle, sat the *bandjar* members, each with a basket before her, containing edibles.

The *gegaloeh* were particularly honored here, apparently, for their little bearers stood just outside the closed circle, behind the priest. He called out to them to hold the *gegaloeh* high in the air. In the circle were representatives of 35 households, all female with one exception. Many of them were little girls about ten years old. Probably they had been deputized to represent their families, because of the lateness of the hour. The children often sleep in the temples at an *odalan*, curled up under the platforms where the offerings are laid out. They are available, then, and may wake up for a time and take part in the ritual at any hour.

The priest rang his bell and prayed:

Papoeloen Padoeka Betara Jongi, Katoeran Padoeka Betara sarining perani.

He said that the offering, which is something like "going to market" (*memasan*) is toward the shrine of Melanting, the Goddess of the Market. A small neglected shrine to her actually stands 100 yards south of the temple, overgrown with bush.

He poured out the water from the bowl and from the water-jar, and poured the libations. Then he scattered flowers, and ordered the members to *ngaagang*, to eat a little.

Sending home the visiting gods, demons, and nymphs (Ngeloearang gegaloeh)

Now he asked the gods, *gendaroewa*, and *widiadara-widiadari* to go home:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara, gendaroewa, widiadara widiadari, mangkin katoeran boedal.

Wong sama samoewem Mahadéwa
Sarwa peranj winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papébioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

[31] *segehan*: cooked rice, with onions and ginger "as meat," laid out in five directions, together with *tjanang*, tray of betel, with raw rice and 'oil container,' the whole arranged on a banana-leaf.

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Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva),
O benefactor of all living beings!
Free me from all evils,
Protect me, O Sada-Śiva!
(see pages 30, 41, 44)

He told us that at this point all the guests were asked to leave, including Betara Siwa and the gods of all the neighboring temples, *Dalem*, *Désa*, *Poeseh*, etc. Those who remain (*ngadeg*) are the God of the Temple (*Nagasari*) Betara Goenoeng Agoeng and Soerja. The *gegaloehs*, now empty of *widiadara-widiadari*, were replaced on the *Pengaroeman*.

Dedication of promised offerings (*Ngatoerang penaoeran*) 796*

2:30 a. m. Inside the temple, a group of people had gathered with more "promised" offerings (*penaoeran*). They had been waiting for the priest to be free to dedicate them. It was possible to do this now, for although the guest gods had gone home, the gods of Nagasari were the ones to which the promises had been made. The priest sprinkled the offerings and spoke to the gods on behalf of the supplicants. The people themselves then whispered prayers of thankfulness for their fulfilled requests, and made the gesture of reverence (*mebakti*) three time repeated. They were sprinkled and given holy water to drink and to put on their faces and hair. A final offering on the ground (*mesegeh*), and the pouring of libations finished this business of offering by individuals.

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A number of little girls, 7 to 11 years old, knelt down now to make their reverence to the gods, and to ask the priest for holy water, for they said they had not had a chance to do so earlier. It was almost three o'clock in the morning. Then, as there was no more ritual to be performed till the dawn, the weary priest laid himself down on one of the pavilions, already crowded with sleeping temple-members, and took a few hours' rest. The old priest, as rightful guardian of the temple, was sleeping upon the *Pengaroeman*, on a mat spread beside the platform on which the *gegaloehs* and the gods' regalia were kept.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DAYS FOLLOWING THE ODALAN

First day (Manis odalan)

*796 [515] a. m. Awakening; dressing the gods (*Tetangi*; *ngiasin betara*): As soon as it was light, the priest rose, took water from the temple jar, washed his face, rinsed out his mouth, and shaking out his long hair, bound it up again in the white headcloth. Then he attended to the gods' toilet. Offering them first the brazier, to rouse them (*tetangi*), then their toilet set (*pebersihan*) with the *rantasan* and *tjanang rêbong*, he continued to dress them (*mijasan*) by removing the fading flowers in the headdresses of the little figures, and replacing them with fresh ones. These attentions are given to the gods every morning of their stay in the temple.

*796 982 Sharing of offerings (*Ngedoem*): Towards the middle of the morning, members from each household in the *bandjar* came to the temple to receive their shares of the *piodalan* offerings from the day before. The cooked rice, meat, cakes, and fruit were laid out in little piles on all the stands and platforms, in fair division — if a man got an egg in his share, then he did not get a coconut. In every sort of basket and odd leaf-container they bore away the rather dreary looking remains of last night's feast.

And then had to begin the preparation of a new set of offerings (*penganjaran*) which have to be placed in every shrine on each of the days succeeding the *odalan*. They consist of food (*adjengan*) and betel (*tjanang*). The old woman, wife of the priest of Nagasari, went about [887] placing these offerings within the doors of all the little shrines built like [1178] houses, and in the covered openings of the pillar-like stone shrines, on the throne of Soerja and the central pavilion (*Pepelik*), the two *Panggoengans*, and even to the outlying shrines of Melanting and Gelogor, the Market Goddess and Watersprite, she went to sprinkle a few drops of water and to deliver the refreshments.

The women and girls had also to make a fresh set of *péndètan* offerings to be given to all the gods in the evening, when there would again be dancing (*méndèt*) for their entertainment.

*796 591 p. m. Cockfight (*Metadjèn*): In the early afternoon, the men of the *bandjar* returned to the temple, this time bearing baskets from which peeped the heads of their favorite fighting cocks. A crowd of several hundred men squatted down in the space outside the temple gate (*djaban poera*). Bringing a cock is compulsory for each man. The fine is ten [689] *képèngs* if he does not bring or send one, and five *képèngs* if his cock does

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not fight. Even the priest must obey this regulation! The cockfight is a necessary adjunct of the *odalan*, "in order that blood may be spilled on the ground" (*laboeh getih*), but it is also a fascinating sport for the men. Not only the immediate members of the *bandjar* attend, but cock-fanciers and habitual gamblers from neighboring villages are attracted. They swell the crowd and make the occasion a gayer one. Squatting on their haunches, exciting their cocks, taking hold of and testing the strength of possible opponents for their entries, making up matches, offering bets, and watching with bated breath the all too rapid playing out of the contests, the men passed the hours until sundown. When there was no longer sufficient light, they wended their way home again, weary but happy. Most of them — for this is not a village of wealthy people — had won or lost amounts ranging from ten cents to about five guilders.

9:00 p. m. Refreshment and dancing (*Méndèt*): On this day, it is customary to bring the individual gift offerings (*matoeran*) to the gods. Not all of the temple members had found time to prepare and to bring their gifts on the day of the *odalan*. They are under no compulsion to bring them on a certain day, any day will do except the *paing odalan*, the second day following the *odalan*. And so on this evening there was again to be seen a stream of women and young girls passing in and out of the temple gate bearing offerings.

That night, the orchestra players and the women who dance *méndèt* assembled in the temple about nine o'clock. It began to rain. The people huddled under the roofs of the various *balés*, waiting for the rain to stop. But it did not stop, and soon the earthen floor of the temple court was turned into one big puddle of muddy water. About eleven, they decided that it was no use to wait any longer, and they gave up the idea of performing the dance.

Offerings (*Péndètan*): The *péndètan* offerings were accordingly set out upon a stand, the various sets intended for each shrine, and the whole lot offered at one time to "all the gods" (*betara sami*). Only the priest, and a detachment of men from the *bandjar* whose turn it was to guard (*mekemit*) the temple, remained through this night, and everyone else went home.

Second Day (Paing odalan)

a. m. Awakening; dressing the gods; fresh offerings (*T'etangi*; *ngiasin betara*; *penganjaran*): The next day was much like the last. The same rituals were performed, the same fresh offerings prepared. The chief difference was that all the members did not have to come for the sharing of offerings, and that there was no bringing of individual gifts to the gods. The people say that they do not bring gifts because the gods have gone

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*796 782 for a walk (*betara melantjaran*), are not there to receive them. They say that to bring gifts on this day is not actually prohibited, but not customary (*ten biasa*). In a case of necessity, as for instance if a woman had [765] been unclean (*sebel*) following the death of a relative for a period ending [84] only the day after the *odalan*, and expected to be again unclean, because [784] menstruating, on the next day, she might bring her offering on this day — but only in the evening, when the gods are supposed to have returned from their promenade.

*796 [541] [943] p. m. Cockfight (*Metadjèn*): In the afternoon another cockfight was held. The weather was fine, and the occasion a particularly gay one. More than thirty vendors had brought their little tables of refreshments and set them on the outskirts of the crowd. Inside the temple only the old priest and his wife were on guard. A few children played about [857] among the shrines, and some little boys took this opportunity — while the regular players were absent — of banging away upon the instruments of the orchstra.

*796 782 [535] 9:00 p. m. Refreshments and dancing (*Méndèt*): At nine o'clock the dancers of the *méndèt* knelt to make their reverence and to receive holy water. The orchestra played, and they began their series of dance-figures, this time spreading out the offering to the gods in the different shrines to the fullest possible extent. All the lesser gods whose offerings had been [778] grouped together on the night of the *odalan* (see page 53) this time were honored individually, each with one of the dances in the series. They danced twenty *taboeh*, not forgetting even the two little shrines on either side of the gate (*Pengapit Lawang*) and the shrines of Melanting and Gelogor out in the fields on the outskirts of the temple. For these outlying shrines the dancing was done before the temple, and essence of the offerings wafted to them from there (*njawang* — to offer from a distance).

12:00 m. The dancing lasted three hours. At midnight it was finished. Then everyone went home, leaving the priest and the picked watchmen to guard the temple.

Third day (Njimpen)

a. m. Awakening; dressing the gods; fresh offerings (*Tetangi*; *ngiasin betara*; *penganjaran*): Early in the morning, after the usual first ceremonies, the *pengajah* were all called to the temple again, for the offerings to be prepared this day were greater. The fine for non-attendance was [688] ten *képèngs*. The *petadjoeh* was very busy making up his accounts, checking off in the squares marked on his palm leaves for each household [794] whatever was still short in their contributions. This was their last chance to bring their contributions up to the required amount. If they did not bring them today, the value of the lacking supplies would be reckoned in money, and they would be fined double (*nikel*) the amount. All the

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fines (*doea*) for whatever sort of nonconformance to the rules during the festival would be payable at a meeting of the *bandjar* following the "putting away of the gods."

The women set to work to make a fresh *lis*, a new *tjanang rèbong*, and all the complete set for the "putting away" offerings (*banten penjimpen*): *sesantoen, daksina, soetji, djapit 5, penganjaran, pengoelapan-pengambéan* (these used at the *odalan*, but the following not used there), *djaoeman 5, tebasan sidakarja 5, soejoek*. This kept the women busy till after one o'clock.

p. m. Dance (*Légong*): In the afternoon more offerings were brought as gifts, and more promises to the gods fulfilled. A *légong* performance, a dance by three little girls, professionally trained, was scheduled for the early evening. Performances such as this, or of plays (*Ardja, Topèng, Tjalonarang*, etc.) often occur as part of the *odalan* festivities. They may take place on any one of the days of the gods' visit. If the *bandjar* is rich, or if they count among their members professional dancers and actors, the performance may be hired or contributed as part of the temple dues. Or an individual may have promised to engage the players for a performance at a coming *odalan*, just as any other offering is promised to the gods if they will accede to a request.

A *sesantoen* offering was given by temple members to the visiting orchestra accompanying the dancers. Another *sesantoen* was offered to the head-dresses of the three little dancers. Several hundred people assembled to watch the performance, given in the space outside the temple.

Procession to the bath (*Ke bédji*): On this day a procession went to fetch water at the bathing place, but the gods were not taken along. The people carried the *bebaktan*, an offering of *adjoeman poetih koening*, this time all in honor of Betara Gangga alone. The priest prayed:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Ratoe Betara Gangga, kénak Padoeka Betara amitja tirta kambenaloe, oepetin nira Betara Gangga, winadahan koendi manik.

Lord God Prince Betara Gangga, be pleased Lord God to vouchsafe us holy water *kambenaloe*, as the gift of Betara Gangga, in the jeweled pot as container.

Then he offered the toilet-tray to Betara Gangga, with the formula:

Wong djang dji soeda ja nama,
Wong tjang tjemana ja nama nama
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

(see page 40)

He poured the water through the spout of the shrine into the containers, and dedicated the offerings, saying:

Pakoeloen padoeka Betara Ratoe Betara Gangga, kénak Padoeka Betara ngaksi sarining boerat wangi lenga wangi, joenan apetik sari.

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

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Lord God Prince Betara Gangga, be pleased Lord God to witness the essence of perfumed ointment and perfumed oil, and the essence of the food offering.

He poured the libations, repeating the usual formula. He ended with a reverence (*mebakti*) facing to the east, not turning about as he had done when the gods were brought along.

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11:00 p. m. Refreshments with dancing (*Méndèt*): At eleven o'clock, when the *légong* was finished, the *méndèt* dancing began. Once more the women and girls went through the complete series of offering to every shrine, so that their part of the night's festivities was not over until half-past one.

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Calling the gods (*Ngeredana*): Then the priest seated himself on the bamboo couch before the central shrine, and began to pray. His *ngeredana*, calling the gods, differed somewhat from that on the day of the *odalan*. The gods who had been guests at the *odalan*, called from the other temples of the village, were not invited. He prayed, calling to Betara Soerja, Betara Siwa, and then "all the gods, followed by the *widiadara-widiadari*," and also to the gods who have shrines in this temple.

[539] *Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Soerja, Ratoe Padoeka Betara Siwa, pada toemoeroen Padoeka Betara, kairing antoek widiadara widiadari, pingkalih Ratoe Goenoeng Agoeng, Ratoe Goenoeng Batoer, Ratoe Betara Ramboet Sedana, moeang Betara Brahma Betara Wisnoe, kairing déning Ratoe Ngeroerah Agoeng, moeang Sedahan Pengenter.*

(*Ngaksama* — the asking-pardon *sloka*:)

Wong sama samoewen Mahadéwa
Sarwa perani winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papébioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva),
O benefactor of all living beings!
Free me from all evils,
Protect me, O Sada-Śiva!
(see pages 30, 41, 44, 57)

He then offered the water-vessels, wardrobe, and toilet-tray, with the usual formula.

Symbolic Sweeping (*Melis*): After the *ngeredana* followed the *melis*, repeated just as on the night of the *odalan*. The little procession went about visiting each shrine, even to those in the outer space.

Giving the "putting away" offerings (*Ngatoerang bânten penjimpenan*): Then the priest prayed, dedicating the offerings to all the gods:

[539] *Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara, Ratoe Padoeka Betara sami, kénak padoeka betara angaksi bebanten, moeang djaoeman (tipat bantal), bèbèk siap, penek agoeng.*

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

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He poured the libations with the formula:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara katoeran sarining sadjeng sari, sadjeng djamboel, sadjeng rateng, lenga wangi boerat wangi.

3:00 a.m. At three o'clock he placed the *tjanang* on the ground (*ngeloearang tjanang*) and made a last reverence to the gods. Then he lay down on one of the offering stands and went to sleep.

All the pavilions in the temple were crowded to overflowing with people — men, women, children, old people, and gay young blades, curled up on the floor of the buildings sound asleep, or sitting up in a valiant effort to keep awake on this the last of a series of wakeful nights. The gayest of all were the young people, the unmarried girls who had been dancing, and who were still dressed in their elaborate costumes, the flowers slightly awry in their hair, and the young men who had been playing the *gamelan*, and now continued to whang on the instruments in a desultory way. To these young people it seemed to be an occasion stimulating to the senses — for every one knows that it is forbidden to "play about" in the temple.[1] The boys followed with their eyes the more attractive girls, to see where they found a corner to wedge themselves in and lie down — hoping to maneuver for themselves a position not too far away. There was much good-natured calling back and forth of allusions, interrupting the voice of the *sinoman* as he read out the roll-call, to be sure that on this night every household was represented in the temple.

While the lamps burned brightly, and the voices called from one pavilion to the next, one by one they dropped off to sleep.

This spending the night in the temple is called *tangkil*, the word used for "coming into the presence of" a noble. One hears a young girl ask another, "Are you going to *tangkil* tonight?" The word *tangkil* also refers to the crouching position assumed by a person of lower caste in the presence of his superior to do him honor. Applying this term to spending the night in the temple therefore suggests that it is one more way of doing honor to the gods. On the night of the *odalan* proper and the night of *njimpen* (putting away) the entire group of representatives is supposed to remain, so that it is not necessary, as on the intervening nights and the nights preceding the *odalan*, to appoint watchmen.

Dawn of the Fourth Day (Njimpen, continued)

5:00 a.m. As soon as it began to be light, people started to call out, "There's already a brightness in the east. Get up! Get up!" (*Soeba galang kangin! Bangoen! Bangoen!*). The priest awoke, and asked the

[1] The fine is 500 képèngs for sleeping next to a woman. The priest said that for actual misbehavior the penalty would be to take down the entire building and to carry the earth on which it stood down to be cast into the sea.

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*1796 women in charge of offerings if they had ready the live chicken and duck for the coming ceremony. They said not, and sent someone off to fetch them. The priest lay back and took another nap.

Very soon the people on the pavilion where the *gamelan* instruments stood rose one by one, and wandered outside the temple. Some small boys rearranged the instruments which had been pushed out of position to make room for the sleepers. They began to play. The wife of the assisting priest lighted the fire in the brazier. The priest rose, washed his face and mouth, and sat down to enjoy a quid of betel. The old priest also [193] crawled out from his place — he had taken shelter from the chill dawn [515] by rolling over under the offering platform beside which he slept. He too washed his face and rearranged his clothes.

When at last the duck and the chicken had arrived, they were tied in [189] little leaf-baskets to either end of a carrying-pole, together with a coconut, a parcel of cooked rice (*ketipat*), betel leaves, areca nuts, bananas, skewered meat (*saté*). This is an offering called *tegen-tegenan* (*salaran*), [489] from the carrying pole (*tegen* is to carry on a pole across the shoulder). The pole here is not an ordinary one, but a piece of green *dadap* wood. It should be carried by a man, they say.

It was six o'clock before they were ready to begin. The sun had risen, and people were calling, "It's late!" (*Soeba lingsir*) rather anxiously, for, as the priest said, the gods really should be put away before the dawn.

[857] The slit-gong was beaten, the *gegaloeh* were taken down from the pavilion and given into the care of two little girls aged seven and eight. Others girls and women carried the *bebaktan*, water-vessels, brazier, *rantasan*, etc., and the ceremonial spears and parasols. A procession formed, and crossed the court to the throne of Soerja. The priest prayed, ringing his bell: "Lord Gods, Prince Lord God Soerja, and Betara Siwa, [182] and all the Gods, Lord Holy God of here (Nagasari), now you are asked to be put away (*mesimpen*) together with the *widiadara-widiadari*; here is a going-away-present (*bebandaran*) of a duck and a chicken, may those who follow you go home."

*1796 Sending home with an offering of betel; taking leave (*Ngeloerang*
182 *tjanang*; *mepamit*): The assistants sprinkled and spilled from the water-vessels, then the procession went in single file around the throne of Soerja, a woman laying down on each corner of it a *kwangèn* (a cone of betel, flowers, and money) as she passed. The people in the procession shouted loudly as they went around, and the priest set off a string of firecrackers to add to the din. They went around three times, going to the left (counter-clockwise). This is called "taking leave of Betara Soerja" (*mepamit di Betara Soerja*).

The priest then led the procession to the *Panggoengan*, and before it the women sprinkled and spilled from the water-vessels. Here again they

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The *gamelan* orchestra plays throughout the three days of the festival

[opp. p. 64]

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went around three times shouting, and placing the *kwangen* on the four corners. If they stopped shouting the priest corrected them, saying, "Why are you still? Shout!" (*Kèn-kèn ngojong? Soerijak!*) He reached out and shook the posts of the building.

Giving the going-away-present; sending away the nymphs (*Ngatoerang tegen-tegenan; ngeloearang gegaloeh*): Passing out through the gate, they approached the outer *Panggoengan*. They went three times around the *Panggoengan*, going to the left, shouting and gaily rocking the posts of the shrine, "to send the gods away."[1] The priest seated himself before the *Panggoengan*, and ordered the offering on the shoulder-pole, the water-vessels and brazier to be set down on the ground. He lifted the brazier, wafted its smoke towards the shrine, and then emptied out the burning coals on the ground. From the duck and the chicken he plucked out a few feathers, and laid these on the ground (symbolizing, he said, the giving to the *kalas* of the farewell present, whose essence — *sari* — they take in these feathers). He prayed:

Paloeloen padoeka betara widiadara widiadari, mangkin katoeran boedal. Wentèn kala-kalaan betara.

Lord gods *widiadara-widiadari*, now you are asked to go home. There is *kala-kalaan* of the gods.

This term *kala-kalaan* is the same as was used in the prayer accompanying the contests (page 55). Its use here is obscure, unless it refers to the procession around the shrines.

The priest then made a *segehan* offering on the ground (see page 56), and, as a new string of firecrackers was set off, libations were poured. He then emptied the contents of the water-vessels on the ground and scattered a few grains of rice.

He took the little *gegaloeh* figures from the children, unwrapped the bits of cloth which they wore as skirts, and tossed the figures up into the *Panggoengan* — as if, indeed, the nymphs were flying away.

They returned to the temple court. The priest took down from the central shrine the two figures of the gods. They were borne across, under their parasols, and set upon the *Pengaroeman*. All the people now present knelt for a final reverence to the gods, and to receive holy water.

The gods put away (*Betara mesimpen*): Then the little faces were removed from the base, wrapped in the bit of cloth, and replaced in the box. The son of the old priest climbed up to the *gedong* where they were

[1] It will be remembered that on the arrival of the gods the procession went round the *Panggoengan* to the right, to the accompaniment of singing. The people here apparently make the distinction between the two, for I once heard them begin to shout as they went round on the arrival of the gods, by mistake. They corrected themselves, saying, "We should be singing (*mekidoeng*), and we are shouting (*mesoerijak*)." But in other districts, as at Sindoe Intaran, the little boys who bear the spears in the procession habitually shout when they are taking the gods to the temple, as well as on their return.

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PLATE VIII

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Dawn of the last day of the festival

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kept to clean it. Then the box was carried over in state, replaced in the shrine, and the doors closed.

There was now nothing left to do but to undress the board *tapakan*, and to take down from under the eaves of all the shrines the decorative hangings. All these, with the clothes of the gods and their regalia, the old priest later took home to keep in his house, where they are safer. But the *tapakan* themselves were set back upon the central shrine to await the next *odalan*.

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GLOSSARY

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balé, pavilion, house, bed, table.
bandjar, a politico-geographical division of a large Balinese village, a ward.
banten, most general term for offerings of all sorts, from a piece of leaf with a few grains of rice to a theatrical performance presented to the gods.
bétara, god, either as noun or title.
déwa, god, either as noun or title.
gamelan, orchestra of gongs, keyed instruments, drums and cymbals, developed in Java and spreading with Javanese culture.
gegaloeh, effigy figures representing heavenly nymphs.
gendaroewa, supernatural followers of the god of the temple.
kala, demons from the underworld, followers of the god of the temple.
koel-koel, wooden slit gong used to summon the villagers.
labaan, from *laba*, a share of temple land.
lawar, type of food offering.
loengsoeran, the part of the offering that is asked back from the gods.
mantra, prayer formula used by priests.
panggoengan, a temporary shrine. (See diagram of temple. There are two of these temporary shrines, one inside the temple gate for the followers of the god of the temple, and one outside opposite the temple gate for the followers of the gods of the great mountains.)
panaoeran, individual offerings which have been promised to the gods.
pasepan, ritual object, brazier for burning sandalwood.
pebersihan, ritual object, tray containing materials for the ritual toilet of the gods.
pemangkoe, a priest or religious practitioner attached to a temple, usually of no caste.
penastan, ritual object, bowl for water.
Pengaroeman, central shrine, also called *Balé Pengaroeman*.
Pengapit Lawang, shrines on either side of the temple gate, outside the temple.
pengeloekatan, holy water.
penjor, a decorative pendant-bearing pole.
Pepelik, shrine on which the representations of the gods are placed during the feast.
pereraé, the most sacred relics of a temple, carried in processions in special little boxes shaped like houses.
pesoe-pesoean, obligatory contributions of offering materials exacted from each member household.
petadjoeh, ward (*bandjar*) official in charge of feast preparation.
rantasan, an offering made of a pile of folded pieces of new cloth, "the wardrobe of the gods."
saté, skewers containing meat in various shapes, cubes, molded meat paste, etc.
segeh (also *segeh agoeng segehan*), an offering made on the ground to various sorts of demons.
sepèn or *sepian*, smaller feast alternating with *odalan* as a bi-yearly anniversary temple celebration.
sesantoen, offering, given to the *gamelan* players, containing a token payment.
sesarik, chopped vegetable materials used in offerings.
sinoman, ward (*bandjar*) members who assist the *petadjoeh* in feast preparations.
sloka, Sanskrit, couplet or stanza.

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104 *soetji*, a special set of offerings.
sorohan, also *ssorohan*, an offering.
taboeh, a unit of offering dance, with its corresponding musical accompaniment.
tapakan, lit. supports, here boards used as a basis for the representations into which the gods enter.
teteboes, handspun thread used in offerings.
tepoeng tawar, chopped leaves mixed with *boenjit* (curry), used in offerings.
tipat or *ketipat*, three-dimensional objects woven from palm leaves, used in offerings; package of cooked rice in such a container.
tjanang, the basic offering type, containing or representing betel.
tjaratan, ritual object, a drinking vessel with a spout.
tocak, palm-wine.
toempeng, cones of rice, used in offerings.
wewangi, water mixed with sandalwood.
widiadara-widiodari, heavenly nymphs who are represented by the *pepoloeh* figures.

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[For a detailed descriptive account of the Balinese "Odalan" ceremonial, see category 116, pp. 13-66.]